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NOTES	 278
BOOK REVIEWS:	
Danton	 281

With Sampson Through the War	28
A History of New England Theology	28
Les Anglais aux Indes et en Egypte	28
Genealogy of the Family of Sambourne or	
Sanborn in England and America, 1194-1892,	28
Sketches and Studies in South Africa	28
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Social	Phases	of	Educat	ion.							28
BOOKS O	F THE W	EEI	r		 	 				 	28

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There is more of Hoar than of Lodge in the Massachusetts Republican platform's deliverance on the Philippines. It is impossible to read it and not see that its framers recognized the existence of a powerful anti-imperial sentiment in the State, and were anxious not to antagonize it. While commending "the tact, the patience, the skill, and the statesmanlike spirit" with which the President "has approached the perplexing problems," they say:

"Under the treaty with Spain, the law of nations put upon the United States the responsibility for the peace and security of life and property, the well being and the future government of the Philippine Islands. Accepting this responsibility, it is our profound trust that the present hostilities can be brought to an early termination, and that Congress, guided by a wise and patriotic Administration, will establish and maintain in those islands, hitherto the home of tyranny, a government as free, as liberal, and as progressive as our own, in accordance with the sacred principles of liberty and self-government upon which the American republic so securely rests."

Still, the weight of this utterance is on the side of the oppressor.

The demoralization wrought by President McKinley's backward step in the matter of civil-service reform has never before been so clearly exposed as in the platform of this same Massachusetts convention. There is no other State in which the Republicans have in the past so strongly supported the merit system. In the last year of President Cleveland's second administration their platform declared that "the civil-service laws, which remove the public service from the control of favoritism, patronage, and politics, should be honestly and thoroughly enforced, and the classified service extended wherever it is possible." In the autumn of Mr. McKinley's first year in the White House they commended a Republican President for, "under severe pressure for place, not merely maintaining, but wisely extending, the merit system in our civil service." Very different from either of these deliverances is the tone of the resolution on the subject this year. While the convention "renewed the old allegiance to the cause of civil-service reform," and declared that "Its success and permanence depend greatly upon its sincere enforcement," it added this qualifying clause: "That it may continue to hold the popular approval of its merits requires a careful adaptation of its methods from time to time to the varied requirements of the public service." This "gives away the whole case" for the reform. "Careful

adaptation of its methods" is merely a euphemism for "taking the starch out"; and when the Massachusetts Republicans endorse this policy, they do all the spoilsmen can ask.

The Evening Post publishes an extremely interesting circular which the managers of the Republican campaign in Ohio are sending to the postmasters of the United States. There seems to be no doubt that every postmaster in the country has received, or is expected to receive, a copy of this document. The most audacious portion of it is the passage relating to the provisions of the civil-service law in regard to contributions for campaign purposes. In this we have the managers of the President's party in his own State explaining to the postmasters of the land how they can violate the spirit of the law without getting themselves or the managers to whom they make their contributions into difficulties. This is, of course, in thorough harmony with the Ohio Republican platform, which commends the President's "backward step"; and it furnishes additional proof that the spoilsmen of the party look upon the President's act as a complete surrender to them. They feel confident that no matter what they may do in contempt and in violation of the law, he will not interfere with them.

In its other aspects the circular is a distinct sign of alarm. The attempt to arouse the postmasters, and probably all other Federal office-holders of the country (for there is no reason to suppose that the postmasters are the only ones importuned), by appealing to their fears of a possible defeat in the "greater contest in 1900," is a confession that the outlook in Ohio is not bright. The officeholders of the land would not be called upon to give money to prevent the "defeat of his party in the President's home State" unless there were some danger of such defeat. Is there not money enough in Ohio to pay the "legitimate expenses" of a Republican campaign? What is it that is threatening "Republican supremacy" this year and next? Is it the burden of imperialism?

The Pennsylvania State League of Republican Clubs last week adopted, without a dissenting vote, "and amidst the greatest applause," the series of resolutions presented by the Philadelphia delegation which denounce the civil-service law as "in opposition to the free institutions of our government," "un-American" and unconstitutional, and which earnestly request their national and State representatives to use all honor-

able means to have the law modified or repealed. Republican organs point out that this deliverance marks a break with the position previously assumed by organizations representing the party. "The National Republican platform," says the Philadelphia Press, "has declared again and again in favor of civil-service reform, and the Pennsylvania Republican platform has always expressed the same judgment when the question has been touched on at all." This is true, and it is also true that President McKinley himself gave his personal pledge that the reform should not only be maintained, but should be extended. in case of his election. But actions speak louder than words. Mr. McKinley has broken his pledge, and taken a long step backward. The Republican politicians in Pennsylvania simply propose to keep up the retreat to the end.

Secretary Root, in his speech at Chicago on Saturday evening, made a notably frank confession of the weakness which characterized the management of the War Department under Alger. Of course he did not mention anybody by name, and he put the blame for faults and defects upon the system, but he did admit that things went very far wrong. Responding to the toast, "The American Soldier," Mr. Root said that he is part of "a great machine which we call military organization," and that this machine to-day "is defective, needs improvement, ought to be improved." The Secretary went still farther, adding:

"Thirty-three years of profound peace have evolved in it some men upon whom the stress of harsh requirement has proved that they are unfit for the positions to which they have attained. Some square pegs have got into round holes, and some round pegs have got into square ones. Some men, who, in the ordinary days of peace, have seemed to be equal to all requirements, in the stern necessities of war have failed to answer to the demands; and wherever that has occurred, the machinery has stopped and failed to acomplish its purpose."

This is a very different thing from the Administration view of a year ago, that the pegs were all in the right holes, and that everything was working well in the best possible of war departments.

Griggs, of "the glory-crowned heights," fairly outdid himself in a speech the same day at one of the places where the McKinley aggregation stopped in its swinging round the Western circle. He was trying to show that the insurrection in the Philippines really does not amount to anything. He set forth the additions to our domain during the past year as a vast archipelago, occupied by eight or ten millions of people, who speak more than a score of different languages, and compose more than two-score different,

discordant, and disconnected tribes. He then restricted the present trouble to "one of these numerous tribes in one of these islands." which has raised an army of insurrection against the American flag, and declared that "these men who have attempted this comprise not one-tenth of 1 per cent. of the people of these islands." One-tenth of 1 per cent, of eight or ten millions of people is 8,000 or 10,000. Secretary Root says that by the end of December we shall have 65,000 troops in the Philippines,"the best youth of America, well officered by the best intellect of America." What for? According to Attorney-General Griggs, to put down an insurrection which is carried on by only 8,000 or 10,000 people!

So there has been no censorship at Manila since September 9! This is the casual announcement of Gen. Corbin at Washington. But the correspondents, having been left to "find it out for themselves," may not yet be aware of it. Like the Irishman, they may be dead. but are not conscious of it. All we have to say is that the whole performance is highly characteristic of the Administration. First, there was no censorship; then, if there was, it was a military necessity: when the revolt of the correspondents was brought to the attention of the Washington authorities, they said, in their coldly superior way, that they would "pay no attention" to it; finally, three months later, it turns out that they did pay attention, and did order the censorship abolished. Now they ask in bland surprise, "Who said censorship? Why, it was discontinued a month ago." Such a thing it is to be a President "close to the people"; perfectly frank; the books always open to inspection; great heart beating rhythmically with the pulses of the commonalty; God bless the women; the flag, my countrymen!

Senator Allison and Congressman Henderson of Iowa made speeches on Saturday in which the financial legislation of the coming session of Congress was touched upon with more or less distinctness. Both of these gentlemen hold positions near to the sources of power, the former being a member of the Finance Committee of the Senate, and the latter being chairman of the House Caucus Committee on this subject, and the prospective Speaker of the House. Mr. Henderson's position is now the more influential of the two, since he will have the power to organize the House. In his speech at Waterloo, Iowa, on Saturday, he predicted that Congress at its approaching session would legislate so as to "establish firmly the gold standard of the civilized world." Senator Allison said that it was the purpose of the Re-

rency of the country at par with gold and convertible into gold at the will of the holder, "not by the voice of the party, but by the voice of the American people." He added that "the laws upon out statute books on this subject will be invigorated and strengthened to maintain it and preserve it, and to make it impossible for any Secretary of the Treasury or any President, by his own flat, and without positive affirmative legislation by Congress, to force upon the people, in some hour of temporary depression or of national slumber, the depreciated standard of silver money, or place any of our money at a premium or discount." It is impossible to mistake the purport of these words, or to doubt that the Senator speaks with authority. What he says implies not merely that the Senate Finance Committee has reached definite conclusions on this subject, but that it has assured itself of the necessary number of votes to pass the bill.

The price of cotton (middling upland) is rising, and the prediction is freely made that it will go to 8 cents before the movement stops. We make no predictions as to the future course of the market, but we venture to prophesy that if the price goes to 8 cents, there will not be much left of the silver movement in the South. The high prices of wheat and corn last year deadened the chief argument of the silverites in the West to such a degree that the States of Kansas and Nebraska went against Bryanism, Populism, and fusion by good majorities. The argument of the Bryanites was that the price of silver governed the prices of commodities in general. They said that the currency was contracted by the demonetization of silver, and that there was not gold enough to do the world's business. They could prove by the quantity theory that prices had fallen in consequence of the demonetization of silver, and must continue to fall unless free coinage were resumed at the ratio of 16 to 1. They published long tables of figures showing how the price of silver had kept pace with the prices of wheat and cotton, all going downward in unison. These tables of figures had a very potent influence with the farmers of the West, especially those who were slack in their agricultural methods and those who were behindhand in their finances.

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of the entire American surplus. Wheat went far above the dollar mark. It touched \$1.91 before Mr. Leiter's wants were satisfied. Of course, this was artificial, but there was a general rise, due to foreign deficiencies, which demonstrated that there was no connection between the price of silver and that of wheat. The arguments of William J. Bryan and of Coin Harvey were "knocked silly," and the political consequences were fatal to them and their kind. Now it has come the turn of the Southern farmer to get his eyes open. With cotton already up to 7.35 cents-a rise of 40 per cent. since last year-he can no longer delude himself with the notion that the gold standard is the cause of the low prices hitherto prevailing. It is not expected that the Democratic party at the South will lose votes in consequence of this rise in cotton, since the race problem is still the governing issue there. But the truth as regards the silver question, which the rise of cotton discloses, will not fail of its effect. The commercial classes of the South, Democrats though they were and are, have never been silverites. They voted with the party because they believed that white supremacy was in the keeping of the party, but they were never deluded by the arguments of Mr. Bryan or of Mr. Bland.

Quay is very fortunate to find Senator Hoar returning from Europe to declare that he shall do everything in his power to secure the Pennsylvania boss the seat in the United States Senate to which his Governor appointed him after the Legislature's failure to elect. Senator Hoar says that politics has nothing to do with his attitude in this matter, which would be the same if the most zealous Democrat in the Union were to present himself with similar credentials; and indeed he has occupied this position consistently for years. The Massachusetts Senator bases his argument upon the contention that it was the purpose of the framers of the Constitution that the Senate should always be full. and that if a Legislature fails to elect. the Governor ought to be recognized as having the right to make a temporary appointment, in order that the State may not go with only one Senator for the year or two until there shall be another session of the law-makers. Mr. Hoar is one of the strongest constitutional lawyers in the Senate, and his earnest championship of the Quay position will render it easy for a good many members of the body who have heretofore voted against a Governor's right to appoint under such circumstances, to change their ground because they have been convinced of their error by his arguments.

It is of little consequence whether Great Britain or Venezuela, under the

Paris arbitration, gets the larger share of the disputed territory. It seems to be the general opinion, however, that England has substantially won her case, and that a large part of the gold mines has been included in the territory awarded to her. This was to be desired in the interest of civilization. Those gold mines, according to all accounts, can be worked at a profit only under a stable government. Not only must the government of the region where they are situated be that of a civilized and enlightened country, but the approaches to it must be under like control. At the time when the United States was in a spasm over this question, and when these gold mines were figuring in the press as the prize for which Great Britain was chiefly contending, letters came from American miners there, saying that their interests and those of all the gold-producers depended on the continuation and confirmation of British control: that if the region were turned over to Venezuela, their property would be exposed to depredation, spoliation, and confiscation, and that they might as well abandon the country at once. Considerations of this sort had very little weight in the scale when we were deciding the boundary question for all the parties concerned, but we have Judge Brewer's word for it (if a reported interview with him is correct), that "the present insurrection in Venezuela, and the consequent feeling of instability, weighed to a certain extent in the balance." We should hope so. The opinion of Senor Rojas, the Venezuelan agent in Paris, is quoted in connection with Judge Brewer's interview, to the effect that this was a contest between an elephant and an ant, and that, of course, the elephant would win. He adds that "America will accept no more arbitrations with Europe"prediction that can come true only in case America has no more disputes with Europe.

The unanimous decision of the Court of Appeals "in favor of the Equitable," as some of the papers state it, is, in reality, in favor of all the assured but Greeff. The decision is not only in conformity to explicit law—it is in harmony with the principles of justice. That permanence which is of prime importance in a corporation, issuing contracts that may run for a generation, would be impossible if Greeff's contention were sustained. If a life-insurance company were to distribute all its surplus, it would become insolvent in the first panic that caused shrinkage in the market value of assets. The policy-holders of the Equitable, and all other companies, who clearly comprehend the character of their contracts, will be gratified with this decision, which in effect prohibits a single policy-holder from taking with him, when his policy matures, any portion of the surplus belonging to those

whose policies have not matured. It also confirms the contention of the companies that distribution of surplus must be made by them in accordance with the terms of their policies.

What is this? A judge of the United States Court characterizing the great firm of Horgan & Slattery as a "mere fiction"? Is not that libellous, Mr. Mayor? Why not summon Judge Brown to the city hall and ask him what he means by such intimations as that the firm has been employing "mere transparent and fictitious devices to shield property from creditors," that it is not a bona-fide concern, and such assertions as, "The circumstances already in evidence justify the court in treating the corporation as a mere fiction, and the sums due it as the assets of the bankrupts"? If he refuses to come, he can be assailed by the Mayor through the press, or Mr. Croker can "give out an interview" on him at The Club. Whatever else Horgan & Slattery may be, they are no fiction. They are the real thing.

Gen. Ludlow's prompt suppression of the general strike in Havana, by throwing the ringleaders into jail as seditious persons, met with general applause in that city, even among the laboring men affected. His proclamation went swiftly to the point. The ostensible reason for the strike was a demand for an eighthours' day. As to this, Gen. Ludlow pointed out that, in fact, no such demand had been made of any employer, or of the City Council, or of the American authorities. The whole thing was but a pretext, and was made the basis for a threat to cut off the city's food and light and to plunge thousands of the inhabitants into misery. This, Gen. Ludlow declared, was pure sedition, and it was his business as Military Governor to suppress it. Wages and hours of labor were no affair of his, but any person openly plotting against the peace of the city was a criminal in his eyes, and would be treated as such. In fact, he did arrest the "walking delegates," as we should call them, with the result of causing the strike to dissipate at once into thin air; and the open rejoicing of the vast majority of workingmen showed that they had been simply coerced and terrorized into joining the strike at all. This is what a fearless Military Governor can do: and there is no doubt that a mayor of one of our cities, who was not afraid of the mob, could do substantially the same thing in similar circumstances.

Mr. John Hays Hammond, American mining expert in the Transvaal, has been interviewed at Paris on the subject of the crisis in South Africa. He says that it is

impossible to have peace without justice, or to have justice without equality in the suffrage. He contends that England is in the right, and affirms that 90 per cent. of the Americans in the Transvaal who hold positions of any importance are on her side. "To-day," he said, "the foreigners contribute 90 per cent, of the taxation, yet have absolutely nothing to say about the expenditure of a penny." All this may be true, without making out a casus belli, and it must be remembered that Mr. Hammond was himself implicated in the Jameson raid, was arrested, tried, convicted, and sentenced to death, the sentence being commuted to a term of imprisonment and a fine of \$60,-000, which was paid. The question back of all others, and the one upon which the judgment of the civilized world will ultimately turn, is, What offers have been made by the Boer Government for a redress of the grievances enumerated? While there is much to be said in favor of the naked right of the Transvaal republic to manage its own affairs in its own way, it would lose the world's sympathy if it should exercise that right in an anti-republican way. If war should result from such conduct. and the Transvaal should be wiped out of existence in consequence, the world would say that it ought not to have put itself in opposition to the march of civilization and equal rights. But President Krüger and his party say that they have done nothing of the kind. that they have made all reasonable offers to secure political rights to the Outlanders, that the latter have refused to avail themselves of such rights, and that Mr. Chamberlain has been jockeying with the question in order to bring on a war. However, as we go to press, the discussion is already academic, for the Boers' ultimatum makes an immediate conflict apparently inevitable. The tension has been too much for popular endurance.

The absurd over-officering of the Spanish army is shown by a comparison of her military establishment with that of Italy or France. Italy's army budget is \$56,000,000, and supports 14,000 officers, who draw pay amounting to \$9.600,000. France spends \$129,000,000 on her army, and has 29,000 officers drawing salaries in the sum of \$19,800 .-000. Spain's army now numbers less than 100,000 all told; her military budget is \$35,000,000; yet she maintains 23,-000 officers, whose pay takes \$13,200,000 out of the treasury! It is not that the officers are overpaid, but that their numbers are needlessly swollen. Many of them, needless to say, hold sinecures, as political rewards. Yet the Minister of War, Gen. Polavieja, has just had to leave the cabinet because he insisted upon creating more officers! So slow is Spain in learning the true lesson of her disasters.

OUR PRESIDENT, RIGHT OR WRONG.

We already observe signs of fear, among the President's supporters, that he is overloading this campaigning tour of his in the West. For a royal progress he ought to have more resplendent courtiers in his train than Smith and Griggs, even in their best estate: and as a plain, stump-speaking, vote-begging expedition, he is both exciting alarm by impressing his whole cabinet into service, as for a desperate emergency, and is cheapening his Secretaries as well as himself by exhibiting at every crossroads. Another thing that Mr. McKinley is cheapening is the American flag. He really is violating the statute which forbids its use for advertising purposes. Never, in two days' speeches, did any President make so many and such maudlin references to "the flag." He waves it out of the car-window; he flaunts it along the streets; he wraps its folds about him as if it were an armor against all criticism. Whittier's heroine was willing to die herself if her country's flag were spared, but Mr. McKinley identifies himself with the flag. To write or speak or vote against him is to strike down the flag. The flag, c'est moi.

This, then, is the new doctrine to which we are asked to subscribe our President, right or wrong. It is to take the place of the old saying, Our country, right or wrong. The country is the flag, the flag is the President, therefore the President is the country. This is no caricature of the reasoning which maintains that we are all bound to stand by the President and see him through his Philippine trials, even if we admit that his policy was from the beginning a mistake, and has been carried out with a vacillation, a lack of foresight, a fumbling and a blundering which have daily increased its difficulties. All the wretched old shibboleths about party differences ceasing at the water's edge, about the nation being absolutely one in "confronting" foreigners, are dragged out to gag the mouths of a free people. Mind, it is not merely the large question of anti-imperialism that they are bidden to be silent about: not simply whether the treaty with Spain was a mistake; not any fait accompli whatever-but the actual policy actually being pursued in the Philippines. that Americans are expected to be dumb. Why? Because the President has decided. Right or wrong, he must be supported. By waving the flag to tatters he makes himself and his policy identical with the country, and everybody must slink away in silence.

This is new doctrine for Americans. Such alleged immunity and sanctity of the President when dealing with questions of foreign policy, or even with questions of war, never have existed in this country and never will exist. Ame-

livering themselves over bound and gagged to their chief executive. If they do not like a treaty with a foreign nation, they say so. The fact that the President thinks it wise does not still their cries. Would McKinley be more immune than Washington? The President spoke of Lincoln on Saturday. Now Lincoln stood up in his place in Congress and severely criticised President Polk for his conduct of the Mexican war. That was a war which Congress had declared. There was ten times the reason for asserting it to be the country's war that there is in the case of the war which Mc-Kinley is carrying on of his own motion in the Philippines. Lincoln openly attacked his President. He poured ridicule upon him. He charged him with precisely the faults that are alleged against President McKinley-contradictory arguments, vacillation, weakness, making the war neither flesh nor fowl nor good red herring. A fine time anybody would have had who should have gone to Abraham Lincoln and told him that when the President of the United States had spoken, it was the part of all good citizens to put their hands over their mouths and lie in the dust at his feet.

The absurdity of this new contention that the President, when dealing with distant and uncivilized peoples, is impeccable and possessed of royal prerogative, will be admitted by anybody whose memory goes back as far as 1893. In that year we had a President who had a knotty problem on his hands in a distant island, inhabited by an alien race. He made a certain decision, but was every mouth stopped thereby? Not if we remember. We think an unusual number of mouths were set bellowing. There was no water's-edge talk or "united-front" business when Mr. Cleveland announced his Hawaiian policy. The very men and newspapers which are most shocked now at any criticism of our wise and beloved President, then led the pack and yelped the loudest. Yet Mr. Cleveland was just as much entitled to immunity as Mr. McKinley is. He was simply trying to do justice in a group of Pacific islands, and to preserve our country from undesirable acquisitions; and if he did not escape unsparing criticism, can a President hope to who is making us, as that good Republican, Senator Hoar, says he is, the laughing-stock of Europe by his policy in a group of Pacific islands, and who has thrown upon our hands what his own Secretary of the Navy confesses to be "an elephant"?

President McKinley might ask for exemption from opposition if he had taken the ready and obvious way to secure the national endorsement for his policy. If he had referred the whole matter to Congress, as he promised to, then indeed he might say that he was executing ricans are not in the habit of thus de- the popular will. But he has sedulously

refrained from consulting Congress. He has left it for England to show us the true way of finding out the people's mind. An English Cabinet does not dare go to war, or spend \$30,000,000 for military purposes, without asking permission from the House of Commons. It promptly summons Parliament. But the President of the United States plays the game solitaire. He is using up in four months the money Congress meant to last twelve. He is waging a war, blockading coasts, interfering with foreign trade, without so much as once asking the people's representatives for a vote of either money or confidence. To say a word against this is our new American crime of lèse-majesté and constructive treason. But we take comfort in the old saw that treason successful is no longer treason. So many tongues are loosed the country over against the doctrine-which would be monstrous if it were not ridiculous-that we must support the President, right or wrong, that the "traitors" bid fair soon to be in the majority, and then, we know, it will be the other fellows who are traitors. A traitorous majority is unthinkable.

OUR VENEZUELA SOBERING.

An American author, residing in England at the time of this country's access of Venezuelan insanity in 1895, wrote home to a friend that the English knew we were terribly angry about something, but had not the least idea what. No more had we. There never was a time when any rational answer could be given to the question why our Secretary of State should suddenly take to writing ruffianly dispatches to Lord Salisbury, or why our President should excite Congress and the country by sending in, like a bolt from the blue, a message declaring that if Great Britain did not do something, nobody knew exactly what or where, it would be our duty to go to war with her. It was a brief madness, but awful while it lasted, that period of shirt-sleeves diplomacy and breech-clout. morality. The chief lunatics of that time are now most ashamed of their antics; those who yelled loudest are most significantly silent at present. And no better proof could be had that the whole issue was factitious-that Mr. Cleveland's heroics about facing England in war were purely gratuitous, and therefore doubly wicked-than the fact that the country has since cared, and now cares, not one straw about the business.

If our fury of 1895 was not feigned, why are we not raging now to find the Paris tribunal giving England territory which she herself offered to Venezuela, and which the latter country, relying upon our powerful aid, indignantly refused to accept as a basis of settlement? We ought to feel hugely chagrined and humiliated. As a matter of fact, we have no feeling at all about the affair, except annoyance that anybody should revive a bore which we had completely dismissed and forgotten. "The Venezuela case? Let's see; just what was that case?" "Why, that was the case on which you were going to war with England four years ago." "By Jove, so it was. It had slipped my memory. What a good joke!"

It is no pleasure to us to recall those insensate weeks of the close of 1895; but it is necessary, for the reproof of our few Chauvinists, like the Tribune, who have brass enough left to shout, "The American policy wins!" The Venezuelans know better; they are bitterly disappointed. Ex-President Harrison, their chief counsel, knows better: he has gone down to the tavern to rail at the court in fine old country-lawyer fashion. And quite irrespective of the terms of the award, so obviously favorable to England, the American policy did not win in the arbitration because the American policy did not contemplate arbitration at all. It is pure fiction to assert now that it did. What was President Cleveland's proposal to Congress which set the country aflame, and which both Houses hastened to vote him \$100,000 to execute? Was it arbitration? No, it was the appointing of a commission of our own to go and draw the true boundary line of Venezuela and then "hold" it in defiance of men or devils. That was the policy which we were called upon to "stand behind," and in support of which, for a few frenzied weeks, we were all ready to shed our last drop of blood. That mad fit did, indeed, pass away. In a short time Ambassador Bayard resumed the diplomatic correspondence, at the point where it was broken off when Mr. Olney began to smash the glasses and break the furniture, and soon an agreement to arbitrate was reached, as it undoubtedly might have been before without any of the drunken swagger. But that was not what the row was all about. That was not the "American policy" of Cleveland's message. What he wanted Congress to do, and what Congress madly hurried to do, was to decide entirely by ourselves what territory "of right" belonged to Venezuela, and then "resist by every means in our power" any appropriation by Great Britain of such lands, "as a wilful aggression upon the rights and interests"-of what country? Venezuela? Alas, no, but of the United States.

Well, we have very satisfactorily sobered off since that debauch. We never had the slightest interest in the Venezuelans, except as good Dagoes to pick a quarrel over, and we have not now. At this very moment, that beloved "sister republic," for which we were prepared to risk our lives, is again in the throes of a miserable revolution. Its President is a fugitive, and the brief interval of good behavior, sustained with difficulty while the country was on

trial, is evidently over. A new dictator will soon succeed to the corrupt line, and we shall be left admiring those "kindred institutions" which Mr. Olney found so lovely and desirable as compared with England's abhorrent and tyrannical rule. We leave the moral to point itself. But we cannot part with the subject without a lament at the sudden disappearance of so much Venezuelan erudition. Men who could not tell you, to save their lives, where Mason and Dixon's line ran, knew every crook and curve of the Schomburgk line. Rivers of their own land they had only the vaguest ideas about, but the Orinoco, the Cuyuni, the Amakuru, they knew better than any pilot knows the Mississippi. Where is all that mighty learning now? Where are Lodge's speeches, McMaster's historical lore? Gone, forgotten; erasit, erupit; thrown out by the Paris tribunal, with a vast amount of similar worn-out garments, for the old-clo' man.

MILITARY MORALITY.

Military writers have one advantage in common with mathematical writers, in that their main premise has to be beyond dispute. They occasionally write not only on war, but on the causes and course of war, but one of their postulates is and has to be impregnable, namely, that the war, if a war of their own nation, was a good war, and ought to have been made. Concerning these points a military writer cannot admit any doubt. "Superior orders" for him settle a whole group of questions, moral or political, which are sure to lie at the threshold of every discussion touching the use of its force by one nation against another. For a soldier or a sailor, the assumption that his own government is right, forms the starting-point of every examination of a military problem. For these reasons, we regret that Capt. Mahan should have thought it necessary to add to his very interesting account of the proceedings of the late Peace Conference at The Hague, in the North American Review for October, some remarks on the danger of pushing the principle of arbitration so far as to bind the nation to a course of conduct of which the national conscience may not approve. It is unhappily true that nearly all writers who express the fear that a nation's hands may be tied by third parties, are never afraid the nation may be compelled to make war against its better judgment; it is through having to make peace that it is usually feared that violence may be done to its moral nature.

The truth is, that when military men turn casuists, and talk of moral responsibility, they enter on a trackless wilderness. There is no rarer qualification among those who either direct or conduct or love wars than moral responsibility. In fact, an army efficient for the assertion of a nation's will must, as the

first condition of its preparation, be divested of moral responsibility altogether. The soldier must become nearly like the Jesuit, "perinde ac cadaver," The Articles of War become his Bible. The Orders of the Day contain for him a summary of all that has ever been written by all the sages of the world on the conduct of life. The report of the Roman Centurion to his superior officer, "Factum est anod jussisti." contained in a nutshell the teachings of all the schools. Ill fares the land in which political duty is taught to the people by admirals and generals, and whose rule of right is the extent of its capacity to destroy.

This trend which is communicated to the military mind by authority, is plainly revealed in the history of military tribunals. There can hardly be a better tribunal for the judging of ordinary military offences in which the Government has no special interest, than a court-martial. Let it be supposed by its members that the Government desires either an acquittal or a conviction, and the verdict is almost certain to meet its wishes. This is true of nearly every court-martial "sounding" in politics, as the lawyers say, from Admiral Byng's to that of Dreyfus.

Capt. Mahan has a fanciful theory, to which he gave utterance more than a year ago, that a nation by increasing its military forces increases its power of being conscientious. He said in words which we cannot recall textually, but of which we feel sure we have the substance, that the duty of a nation was to increase its armament and "then do right." Unhappily, the experience of mankind has shown that the disposition to "do right" is generally in the inverse ratio of the size of the armament. It is one of the commonplaces of history that, in the case of nations, power is the deadliest antagonist of conscience. With power comes indifference to right and contempt for weakness. This is the story of mankind.

The fear that any one nation might get power enough to "do right," or, in other words, to do as it pleased, has haunted the imaginations of the statesmen and rulers, of Europe ever since the fall of the Roman Empire. It originated what is called "the balance-ofpower" theory; it caused the earlier dread of Spain; it caused the coalitions against Louis XIV. and against Napoleon; it has been, in all ages, a terror to all lovers of liberty and justice. There has been no worse foe of mankind than the accumulation of vast physical force in the hands of one individual of one nation. We think there is very little doubt to-day in the minds of intelligent observers that the great lowering of the moral tone in the United States which has occurred in our time, has been due to the feeling that our military strength has become irresistible. Fifty years ago Emerson wrote that he had told Englishmen when in England, that "musket-worship was perfectly well known to us; that it was an old bankrupt." The increase of revenue and population, and the teaching of our new military prophets that the Government when it goes to war is always right, has put the "old bankrupt" on his legs again and started him in a roaring business.

We freely contess that in the whole list of military writers we do not know one who can be pronounced freer from these defects than Capt. Mahan, although we hold him to be largely responsible for the wave of semi-barbarous Jingoism from which we are now suffering. We know no other military writer who looks beyond the military field with a clearer eye. But in the background of his thought, on all subjects, there lies a shadow of the military conception of war, that, if legally declared, it may decide what is right, and may give ease to perplexed human consciences. He has the notion that the men who declare war in any country in the world, by calling themselves Presidents, Attorney-Generals, Ministers of State, can take charge of the national forum of morals, and, by dint of "proclamations," convert wrong into right, a sense of power into a sense of justice. He even compares the unwillingness of a nation to submit the definition of its rights to arbitration, to the dissatisfaction of an unfortunate private suitor with the judgment of the court which condemns him in costs. And he is right. There is the same objection to both-the weakness of human nature. Long ages have been required to reconcile the individual to surrendering the right given him by the primitive conscience to steal his neighbor's cows when he wanted them, and to kill the neighbor when he quarrelled with him. And this in spite of the fact that, ever since the foundation of human society, the rule that "no man shall be judge in his own case" has been recognized by all moralists as the principal strand in the social bond. The prohibition of private war in civilized society was its first great triumph. But this triumph left all the good shots and good swordsmen in the deepest despondency over the wrong done to their consciences in not allowing them any longer to shoot or stab the damned rascals, just as the military philosophers are now trembling lest the nations should give up their right to occasional murder

The great remaining repudiation of this principle to-day is war. We have still to reconcile the great civilized nations to the humiliation of the substitution of a tribunal like the Venezuelan Commission for grand displays of mutilated corpses and ruined property. The struggle will be long, but why poohpooh our efforts? Is there the smallest prospect that any nation will allow its

power of killing its enemies to be taken away from it before the moral system of the world is ready for the tremendous sacrifice?

PROSPERITY AND POLITICS.

The Republican politicians are making as much capital as possible out of the prosperous conditions of business now prevailing. To say that people are making money, that the demand for iron is enormous, and that prices of commodities are rising, is considered by them a good answer to the cruelty of the war in the Philippines, the debauching of the civil service, and all the scandals of the McKinley administration. Post hoc, ergo propter hoc is their unfailing argument. Because this prosperity came during the McKinley administration, therefore it must be due to McKinley, or at all events to the Republican party and its glorious tariff. This is the song that Judge Nash is singing in Ohio, and all the Republican organs in that State are joining in the chorus.

The truth should be spoken on this subject, and the first thing that needs to be said is that the prosperity so loudly boasted is not confined to this country. It is just as marked in Great Britain as it is here, or was so until the war cloud in South Africa began to darken. It will not be pretended that England is indebted for her prosperity to the effulgence of McKinley, or to the fructifying influence of the Dingley tariff. Germany is in a prosperous state at the present time. Is her rapid advance in wealth to be ascribed to the fact that the Republican party is in power in the United States, and that that party has gone beyond all precedent in its efforts to cripple trade between the two countries? Her statesmen, her merchants, her manufacturers, her scholars would be amazed to hear such a claim put forth. Now a world-wide prosperity must have a world-wide cause. The cause must be commensurate with the result. If there is a period of general prosperity among civilized nations, it cannot be due to the government of one of them, least of all to one whose aim is to curtail trade with all the rest.

Now we will inquire what foundation there is for the claim that the present prosperity is due to the McKinley administration, or to the Republican party. To answer this question, it is necessary to go back to the last previous Republican administration, that of President Harrison, in which, as it happens, Mr. McKinley was a potent factor in the legislative branch of the government. It will not be forgotten that in the first Cleveland administration (1885-1889) the country was remarkably prosperous, and that the interest-bearing debt of the nation was reduced at the rate of more than one hundred million dollars per year. This notable and advantageous condition, which would have left the nation free from debt if it had been continued a few years longer, was brought to an end during the Harrison administration by three principal measures, viz.: first, the McKinley tariff, which repealed the sugar duties and reduced the public revenue by \$50,000,000; second, by the new pension bill, which added \$50,000,000 to the public expenditures; third, by the Sherman act, which more than doubled the Government's silver purchases. These three measures literally bankrupted the Treasury. They made the Government's outgo greater than its income, and the party which was responsible for it took no steps to replenish the Treasury or to redress the balance. That party was so fortunate as to be beaten in the next Presidential election (1892). By being beaten it avoided the political consequences of its own baleful acts. These consequences fell upon the second Cleveland administration, which was in no wise responsible for them.

In the case of a nation whose resources are ample, bankruptcy of the public treasury is not necessarily damaging to private credit. It must always be accounted an act of folly because it is an expensive affair for the taxpayers, but is not otherwise harmful. In this case, however, the public credit was interwoven with private credit. The two things were tied together like a Gordian knot, by means of the silver legislation, of which the Sherman act was the climax. This act was likewise interwoven with the McKinley tariff. On the very day when the tariff bill reached the Senate this body passed a free-coinage bill, and then "sat down" on the tariff and waited to see what effect its action would have at the other end of the capitol. In due time the Sherman bill emerged from the débris of the previous Windom bill, and in the course of events the McKinley bill and the Sherman bill were linked together and enacted into law as a matter of bargain and logrolling.

For the purposes of the present argument, we will consider only the revenue features of the McKinley bill. Its title declared that it was a bill "to reduce revenue." It accomplished this purpose to a degree that must have astonished its promoters. The receipts from customs duties fell from \$229,000,000 in 1890 to \$177,000,000 in 1892, a loss of \$52,000,-000, which was just about the measure of the loss on sugar alone. The expenditures for the same period rose from \$358,000,000 to \$415,000,000, an increase of \$57,000,000. Here was a showing of \$109,000,000 "to the bad," and this showing became much worse in the two following years. The most deplorable fact in the situation was that the maintenance of the gold standard depended upon the condition of the Treasuryupon the relation of receipts to expen-

Even if there had been no Sherman act pouring a fresh deluge of silver currency (redeemable in gold) into the circulation, the condition brought about by the McKinley bill of 1890 and the new pension bill-i. e., a large deficit in the Treasury-would have been hazardous in a high degree. With the Sherman bill, which provided for the purchase of 4,-500,000 ounces of silver every month (for which gold must be paid) and its conversion into a new and terrifying kind of currency, we had all the ingredients of panic and crash. This came in 1893. That it was caused by the disastrous combination of events here enumerated, all of which were the doings of the Republican party, and for which William McKinley was the leading agent, there is no room to doubt. The foundation of the present prosperity was laid by the Cleveland administration when it forced the unconditional repeal of the Sherman act. That McKinley and his party should now lay claim to credit for the revival of business from the disastrous depression into which they plunged it by the measures above recited, is a mark either of gross impudence or of the grossest ignorance.

ROSEBERY AS AN ORATOR.

Lord Rosebery has made an original contribution to the solution of the problem, "What shall a retired statesman do with himself?" It is a delicate and difficult problem at best. The statesman must not be too retired. Though quitting the stage, he must make it evident that applause sufficiently hearty would lead him to submit to a recall. While prizing his retirement, and losing no occasion to declare how grateful it is to him, he has to give just a suspicion of color to the notion that it would not exactly take wild horses to drag him from it. So he has to manage to keep up an appearance of being in touch with public affairs, though boasting of his delightful freedom from the cares of office. A common resort has been to set up as a "sage." Political wisdom freely on tap is the sure mark of a retired statesman. He must not be a "Nestor," for Nestors are retired for good; but a "sage" has often to give up his "well-earned repose" in order reluctantly to come forth and save his country. Another way of being retired, yet not too inflexibly retired. is to take to writing a "history" of the immediate past. If you find that you have constructed, in this way, a powerful historical argument for your own return to active affairs, that is not your fault; blame the muse of history, if anybody. Everybody remembers how Blaine was drawn away with difficulty from the still air of delightful studies. But Lord Rosebery has struck out a quite new line for retired statesmen, by taking up the rôle of occasional orator.

The next few weeks are to see seve-

ral of his memorial orations. He is to speak of Chatham; he is to unveil a monument to Pitt (here, of course, Lord Rosebery is hunting on his own preserves); he is to take part in the dedication of the Cromwell statue at Westminster. He will probably, however, make no new revelation of his oratorical quality. That has been pretty fully displayed, in its excellencies and its limitations, in the course of his public career. The recent volume of his 'Appreciations and Addresses' (John Lane) won unhappy notoriety through a peculiar suit about copyright in which it involved the publisher-unhappy, we say, because everybody fell to talking about the suit and neglected the book. Yet it well deserves attention, both for its intrinsic interest and for the light it casts upon an Englishman who, at fifty-two, cannot safely be put down in the ranks of the permanently retired statesmen.

The distinctive note of Lord Rosebery's oratory is, we should say, felicity. He is uneven-often falling below his own level, and never rising to the highest level; but is always happy, never guilty of a breach of good taste; invariably apt, ingenious, witty, with an infectious good humor and urbanity. Of all the addresses in the volume we should rank those on Burns highest, for literary and philosophic insight and for sustained elevation. It is almost a shock to turn the pages and read the vastly inferior plea for a Stevenson memorial in Edinburgh, in which the orator said that we must prove that author immortal by erecting a monument to him in our own time, lest posterity might not care enough about him to do it! Surely Lord Rosebery was nodding that day, for the enthusiasm of the moment led him to the strange exaggeration, which stands in the book in cold type, "No man of ancient or modern times since the beginning of the world has ever left behind him so splendid a collection of his works as has Robert Louis Stevenson."

Two short addresses on Burke are included in the volume, but they are disappointing, scarcely touching the skirts of that piercing intellect and monarch of style. The wonder is how any orator could speak twice on Burke without once showing even a reflected glow from the central fire. Rosebery's tribute to Gladstone, delivered in the House of Lords, is distinctly of a higher order. In perfect taste and marked by deep feeling, it yet lacks a certain impetuous flow, with thoughts and the fitting word visibly created in the speaker's mind at the moment, which marks what Tacitus called "magna eloquentia"-that eloquence which is as a flame feeding on itself, stirred by its own motions, and which urendo clarescit. That is the kind of eloquence which has been justly ascribed to Mr. Gladstone; it could never be asserted of Mr. Gladstone's successor and eulogist.

Eloquence has been said to be a virtue. Whatever we may think of that, we must agree that oratory reveals character. What has this volume of orations to say about Lord Rosebery's fitness to be a party leader, especially his fitness to lead a great democratic party like the Liberals of England? We think it shows him to have one fatal disqualification. He has not high seriousness, Mr. Gladstone had his playful moments, but how different was his passing smile from Rosebery's calculated jocoseness, He makes fun of himself, of his office, of his audience. He says that he "belongs to the ingenuous class that make speeches." No man who thought of his oratory as a powerful instrument to move his fellows, could ever say that. His flippancy is excellent at times, but it is flippancy still. For example, he said in the first speech he made after the long silence that followed his retirement from office, that an audience had good reason to dread a speaker who had been silent for some time:

"In the first place, he may have altogether lost the capacity for speech. In the second place, he may have stored up in him during the period of his reticence such overflowing masses of thought and matter, which he wishes to communicate to the first person he comes across, that his first audience may suffer under an avalanche of material. And the third and most fatal possibility of all is that he may combine both disabilities—that he may have lost altogether the faculty and capacity of intelligible speech, but may be at the same time overburdened and anxious to communicate illimitable thoughts to his fellow-countrymen."

That is true Roseberyese. It is the after-dinner note, the trick of persiflage, which shows that Rosebery does not take himself seriously. Now the orator who does not take himself seriously will never be taken seriously by a great democracy.

BRITISH ECONOMISTS IN SESSION.

DOVER, September 19, 1899.

There is no organization in Great Britain corresponding precisely in scope and in method to the American Economic Association. The formal object of the British Economic Association is "the advancement of economic knowledge by the issue of a journal and other printed publications, and by such other means as the Association may from time to time agree to adopt." Nine volumes of the Economic Journal, established in 1890 as the organ of the Association, have thus been published under the capable editorship of Prof. F. Y. Edgeworth, with whom Mr. Henry Higgs has latterly been associated. The Association has also presented its members with a facsimile of the rare 'Tableau Economique' of Quesnay, brought to light by Dr. Stephen Bauer, and other publications are stated to be in contemplation. The only further activity of the Association is an annual dinner, attended by a small proportion of the seven hundred members, and of which the important feature is a formal address by some distinguished foreign economist.

The Political Economy Club, the Economic Club, and the Political Economy Circle of the National Liberal Club serve in some degree as rallying-points for persons interested in economics living in or near London. The Political Economy Club is the organization founded in 1821 by James Mill and David Ricardo, and still maintains its limited membership, its monthly dinners, and its varied discussions. The Economic Club has justified its existence, among other reasons, by publishing, under Dr. James Bonar's efficient editorship, a tentative 'Catalogue of the Library of Adam Smith.' The Political Economy Circle, through the efforts of an energetic secretary, Mr. J. H. Levy, does useful work in encouraging economic discussion and publication.

For the nearest approach to what constitute the distinctive features of the American Economic Association-an annual scientific meeting with a consecutive programme of papers and discussions and generous opportunity for personal intercourse-it is necessary to turn from these organizations to the work of Section F (Economics and Statistics) of the British Association for the Advancement of Science. In accordance with the ponderous methods of the British Association, the Section meets annually for a full week's session. Only the mornings, however, are devoted to business, the afternoons and evenings being consecrated to Association functions and entertainments. As contrasted with the experience of the American Economic Association, the session is thus more protracted, the attendance not as representative, and the discussion less profitable. The notable feature of the Dover session just terminated was the address of Mr. Henry Higgs, President of the Section. As was gracefully noted by Dr. Bonar (the retiring President) in moving the usual resolution of thanks, in point of age Mr. Higgs is markedly deficient for the traditional dignities of the presidential office. But the address itself, in its originality and vigor, furnished new evidence of his preeminent fitness therefor and of his sure place in the front rank of the younger British economists.

Mr. Higgs's address was a forcible plea for the detailed study by English economists of the local facts of wealth consumption, towards which he himself, as one of the editors of a series of British family budgets, has made an appreciable contribution. He noted that the delicate theorems of value in all their branches-wages, rent, interest, profits, the problems of taxation, the alluring study of currency, the mechanism of banking and exchange-have attracted the greatest share of the economist's attention. The practical and the speculative aspects alike of the consumption of wealth have received less consideration. Nobody sees his way to a fortune through the spread of more knowledge of domestic economy in workmen's homes; and the scientific observer has curbed his curiosity before what might seem an inquisitorial investigation into the question, What becomes of wages? The result is, that if Great Britain "were suddenly swallowed up by the ocean, it appears probable that the foreign student would find it easier to describe from existing documents the life and home of the British craftsman in the Middle Ages than of his descendant of to-

French economists, notably Le Play, have had a much keener perception of the importance of ascertaining the facts of consumption. Given half-a-dozen Le Plays applying their minds to the study of the consumption of wealth among the working classes of

England, we might expect soon to see, Mr. Higgs hazarded, a greater advance in comfort, a greater rise in the standard of life. than improved arts of production alone are likely to yield in a generation. In consumption of food, in use of coal, in methods of dress, and in arrangement of housing, the habits of the English workman reveal waste and loss not only when estimated by absolute standards, but even when compared with Continental examples. With an equal income, there is probably no doubt that a French working-class family will be better fed and better clad than a corresponding English family dealing in the same market, and will lay up a larger stock of household goods

Herein lies the peculiar value to Englishmen of detailed study of the economics of family life. Nothing is so calculated to stimulate social sympathy or to suggest questions for consideration. To what department soever of economic life we turn our eyes, we find live men and women, born into families, living in families, their social happiness and efficiency largely dependent on their family lives. The cosmopolitan attitude of the older economists. Mr. Higgs acutely observed, was largely due to their centring attention upon the problems of exchange. To them the globe was peopled by men producing the fruits of the earth, anxious to exchange them to the greatest national advantage, but hindered from doing so by the perversity of national governments. The facts of consumption are local. They are often determined by geology, geography, climate, and occupation; and however fully we may admit the economic solidarity of the world, and the advantage which one part of it derives from the prosperity of another, we may fairly be excused if we attempt to make our contribution to the welfare of the human family through the improvement of the condition of the people nearest at hand.

It was remarkable and significant to find the subject of municipal finance engaging as general attention at Dover as at the last meeting of the American Economic Association at New Haven. The entire session of September 16 was devoted to this topic, and several additional papers were read at subsequent sessions. Prof. J. H. Hollander of the Johns Hopkins University, in a brief paper on "Some Aspects of American Municipal Finance," noted as the characteristic features of the fiscal activities of the larger American cities (1) increasing expenditure, (2) inelastic revenue, (3) increasing funded indebtedness, (4) crude budgetary procedure. He thought it likely that the near development of American local finance would result in continued progressive increase in expenditure, an essential modification of the general property tax, larger use of sources of revenue other than direct taxation, relative stability in funded indebtedness, and systematization of budgetary procedure.

Mr. Robert Donald, editor of the Municipal Journal, discussed "Municipal Trading and Profits," and found no cause for concern in the extension of municipal activity to industries of service, in view of the fact that in towns where the civic spirit was the keenest and healthiest, where municipal institutions were most largely developed, there the profit sought from municipal works was least and the administration was the best. Prof. William Smart of Glasgow took the introduction by the Glasgow corporation of a bill embodying the principle of the single tax on land values as the occasion for a

vigorous onslaught upon the theoretical weakness and the practical iniquity of that panacea. To the keen regret of his audience, the speaker discussed general principles rather than the specific Glasgow proposals. Mr. Edwin Cannan read a characteristically clear, crisp paper on "The State as Investor," in which he suggested loans to local bodies as a suitable mode of investing the increments of the national sinking fund and the postal savings-bank deposits.

A detailed statement by Sir Philip Magnus upon the plans of the reconstructed University of London with respect to instruction in economics attracted general attention. The University will be organized into eight faculties, of which one will be the Faculty of Economics and Political Science, including Commerce. Appreciative reference was made to the successful work of the London School of Economics under Prof. Hewins, in giving an impulse to the study of the science and to its practical application to commercial problems. But although the existing school may form a useful part of the new faculty, it cannot be considered as supplying all that is required. If the Faculty of Economics and Commerca to take its place among the other faculties of the University, it must embrace the teaching of a much wider range of subjects than has so far been provided, or is even as yet contemplated. The urgent demand is not only for the education of trained economists, who shall guide the commercial, industrial, and financial policy of the empire, but for a school fulfilling the functions of a civilservice and commercial department, and drawing students not only from London and other parts of the United Kingdom, but from the colonies and the great dependencies, for the study of subjects closely connected with their administrative and commercial duties.

Miss Ethel R. Faraday of Manchester presented a lengthy and elaborate paper bearing the extraordinary title, "The Mercantile System of Laisser-Faire." The interpretation of the paradox was the contention that the English laisser-faire school, originally founded on a cosmopolitan theory of economics, occupies at present a position as purely nationalist as that of the mercantile school which it succeeded. This is the effect of a dogmatic insistence on the economic ideal as stated by Cobden, and a resulting indifference towards five recent developments of economic thought: the separation of the science from the art of economics, the definition of the science and of its subject wealth, the humanist philosophy, the imperial idea, and the theory of relativity.

It is possible barely to refer to other noteworthy papers presented at the session. Miss Collet discussed the forthcoming census of 1901, and effectively dispelled any possible illusion that the statistical methods of the British Government might be advantageously copied in entirety by the United States. Mr. George H. Pownall voiced the concern of thoughtful financiers as to the inadequacy of English banking reserves, and supplemented the suggestion that bankers hold fifteen, instead of as at present seven, per cent. of their deposits in Bank of England notes, with the exhortation that the keeping of adequate cash reserves was a duty to the state! Prof. F. Y. Edgeworth presented by title a profound paper on the use of curves in statistics, the full text of which appears in the Journal of the Royal Statistical Society for September. Prof. J. D. Everett gave a detailed account of an interesting but not entirely novel modification of the ordinary geometrical illustration of the theory of rent. Mr. Hermann Schmidt and Mr. J. M. Macdonald presented rather belated contributions to the Indian currency discussion.

Mention should at least be made of Mr. S. J. Chapman's paper on the regulation of wages by lists in the spinning industry; of Mr. George H. Wood's laborious investigation into the course of average wages between 1790 and 1860; of Miss Hewart's useful review of the increase in local rates in England and Wales from 1892 to 1897; and of Mr. H. E. Moore's discussion of the results of recent poor-law reform.

J. H. H.

IMPRESSIONS IN THE MEXICAN HIGH-LANDS.

CHIHUAHUA, September, 1899.

To him who visits Mexico for the first time, three features attract instant notice: the startling contrast between plain and jagged sierra, the delusively Oriental aspect of the brown and white-plastered adobe villages, and the wonderful high hats of the short-jacketed Mexicans. One need not, indeed, pass beyond the Rio Grande to perceive fair intimations of each of these earmarks of the land of the Aztecs, but the impression produced is different. They are mingled with too much that is American. Even the saw-toothed ridges do not line up into those noble ranks which, on the Mexican plateau, run parallel north and south into that misty infinitude where, to the eye, parallelism ends in convergence. Unless one has reached that condition of intellectual ossification which may entitle him to be called blase, these three characteristics never fail to impress the foreigner, to awaken his interest.

Taking them in reverse order, the hatthat marvellous pinnacle, fike a volcanic cone rising out of a vast plain of brim, established on its base with a backward tilt, and then worn with a slightly forward cant, throwing the face of the wearer into a deep shadow-this singular, ponderous head-dress, often four to five pounds in weight, is a thing incomprehensible at first. demanding explanation of its origin and justification of its right to be. Mount your horse and strike out across those plains, brown with the parched secate, with glaring light pouring in upon you from sky, from mountain side, from every sand grain on the plain, and you will hasten to the first hacienda you see and exchange your "Stetson," whose brim you once thought grandly expansive, for one of the broader, highcrowned marvels of the Mexican hatter's art, and wish you had been advised of one reason for its existence before your lips and nose had become so terribly blistered. Even in midwinter, when the air is so cool that you can wear a light overcoat with convenience, the sun will leave its mark on you unless you retreat under the ample shelter of the Mexican hat. Why it should be made so heavy is not as easily discoverable. The foreigner certainly never grows used to carrying such a burden. Indeed, the average Gringo-why shrink from a term which, though hurled at us in opprobrium,

can be robbed of its sting by assuming it with dignity?—the ordinary Gringo adopts every possible makeshift to avoid assimilating himself even in so trivial a matter with the native. If he were afflicted with a little less supercilious pride and ignoble contempt of everything not American, he would fare better both as to personal comfort and financial success among these people south of the Rio Grande. It is this spirit, perhaps, far more than the weight of the hat, which troubles the Gringo.

Whatever may be the cause of its adoption, the hat certainly has produced an effect on its devotees. Carrying this weight is, in some sense, like habitually poising a water-jar on the head; it makes one bear the head erect, the shoulders square, and the spinal column straight. Hence, your Mexican gentleman possesses a carriage of head and body that is exceedingly pleasing, exceedingly manly. There is nothing slouchy in his appearance, no matter how old and worn his clothing may be; and this dignity of manner is, beyond a doubt, due in part to the conditions imposed for comfortably carrying that stupendous gilt-corded, hareskin hat. It surely is not imagination merely that makes the new Mexican (the new Mexican of "Old Mexico," that is), who is beginning to wear the conventional hat of Anglo-Saxondom, seem inferior to his dashing cousin of the plains, who spurns the softer habits of the town. And yet so frail is mankind that these ranchers who know no fear in the presence of dangerous cattle of bull-ring breed, nor in the face of more dangerous outlaws of the hills, dare not meet their friends in the city clad in the ancient habit of tall hat and short braided jacket. Times are changing very, very rapidly, even in conservative Mexico. The brilliant sarape, that picturesque blanket inherited from the Indian, although the common substitute for an overcoat among the poor in general, has been cast aside by his worship the Don, and a very rural hidalgo indeed must he be who would be seen wearing this garment to-day.

The adobe house also is losing its ascendancy in the regard of the people. The American type of structure is coming into vogue, with its gables and bay-windows, its porches and its visible roofs. For, mark you, a roof is a thing you can never see on the old Mexican house unless you scale the wall for that express purpose. The only outer token of its existence is the line of long slender tin pipes, with ornamental wings, or the protruding hollow tiles, for carrying off the water; and this evidence of a water-shedding device is very patent at times when the unwary passer-by comes within range of the torrents gushing upon the streets from these batteries of spouts. Beyond doubt it is possible to be housed comfortably at far less cost by adopting the American plan of building, but this is not the reason for abandoning the old square adobe with its inner patio and corral. It is because the customs are changing. It seems as if, with the advance of modern ideas, the Mexican feared that the retention of the old ways of doing and living would bind him to the old habits of thought as well. Certain it is that the new home means for him a new home-life also. The very style of construction throws the inmates of the house more together and encourages the family gathering. Very different is the effect of the old hollow-square adobe. For

the most part the rooms do not communicate with each other. Access from one to another is had by passing out to the great colonnade surrounding the patio.

It is the town here, as well as in the North, that sets the fashions. The country clings to the old with greater tenacity, and bows to the authority of the new chiefly in obedience to the demands of the rising young manhood and womanhood whose aspirations are broader than the paternal acres. So, while modern villa and mansion jostle squat adobe houses in the towns, old Mexico cherishes its ancient customs in the broad plains, and will not soon suffer corruption of its traditional methods-not for another generation at least. When the change comes, much of the most picturesque and charming individuality in Mexico will have disappeared. Now you see a group of square low buildings, mostly of that sombre brown of the adobe; with one or two plastered and whitewashed, with iron guard-bars swelling around the windows, betokening ownership by some man of greater affluence than the rest. The exterior of all is severely plain, the streets are brown and bare, but close by is certain to be a stream, a row of fine pollard maples, with gardens surrounded by high cactus-grown adobe walls, and the sinuous line of the irrigation canal sharply dividing the pretty oasis from the great brown desert that sweeps away to the serrated hills beyond. Straggling along the stream will be other flat, square adobe buildings, the homes of peones, each with its little garden and its great chicken-coop mounted high above the reach of vermin, on four scraggy stilts. Close at hand its Mexican character is pronounced enough, but at a little distance the semblance to an Oriental community is very striking. The type of the buildings, the grouping of the structures, the signs of water and fertility in the midst of widespread aridity, are certainly Eastern, and no length of acquaintance with these scenes weakens the impression in the least. The slow-moving oxteam, followed by the peon guiding a onehandled wooden plough; the horsemen, with gay red and blue sarages flaunting in the wind, scurrying after cattle over the rolling plain-only strengthen the Oriental color of the picture.

Unconsciously one falls to thinking how powerful must have been the Moorish impress upon old Spain. There is the plough of Egypt and Chaldea, which the Arab has carried along the coast of Barbary and across the straits of Hercules, and, through his descendants, has transmitted to the New World. There is the little booth, tienda, in whose Spanish name the Arab vendor in tents is not forgotten; even in its present form retaining still some likeness to the nomad's booth, for a great wide shutter lets down, revealing the whole width of a room, and forming a sloping table on which some of the wares are exposed for sale, while an awning hangs over from above. You need not enter the store to buy. All is sufficiently available from the exterior. Even the stores which are disposed after a more modern fashion have a gayly colored banner, with the embroidered initials of the owner, swinging in the doorway, a survival of the ancient hangings of the booth. The women come and go bearing water-jars upon their heads. But it is not all Eastern. The native did not have to be transformed to bring him into

this semblance of Oriental customs. His primitive architecture needed but little modification to make it what we see today. The savage of the hills builds a house which contains more than a mere germ of the casa de hacienda of the Mexican. He was used to a mode of life under conditions in themselves so like the Eastern that he was readily assimilated to Spanish customs-in fact, assimilation of each to each presented no serious difficulties. So it happens that in Mexico we are less conscious of the imposition of foreign customs upon the native, and there are less striking contrasts between the people in different degrees of society (omitting, of course, the great centres of wealth and trade) than in any other Spanish-American country. And certainly in no other Latin republic does one meet so many "self-made" men, who have risen to power and affluence from the humblest stations by their own ability and industry, unless it may be in Brazil. The sense of a possible career beyond that of a common laborer is strong even in the poorest classes. Though a large fraction of the population takes no thought for the morrow, and makes the present hideous with debauchery, there are signs, visible at every turn, of men and women living with hope of better things to come. The chief of these is the little store which abounds more than ever did the "cent shop" in New England. The genius of the people is distinctly that of the trader, of the dealer in small wares; and from these little stores, with crude pottery, baskets, and home-made dulces, often grow important enterprises. This ability, which also suggests the Oriental, of being courageous in setting up for himself with an insignificant capital, is one hopeful circumstance in the Mexican character. It betokens an independent spirit, and this again shows in the fact that Mexico has given away fewer allembracing concessions to foreign corporations than has been the too common custom in other Spanish-American countries.

Correspondence.

THE WORLD AGAINST US.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

Sir: Will you permit one who has spent the last year in Italy, Switzerland, and Germany to state his impression of opinions on the Continent in regard to President McKinley's policy in the Philipprines?

Of the Americans resident abroad whom I have met-and they have been variously representative of Republicans and Democrats, artists and business men-all have concurred vehemently in the conviction either of the infamy or the stupidity of the President's policy, or of both. But what is perhaps more significant still is the attitude of the Europeans (out of politics) who have watched our movements in the Far East merely as curious and unprejudiced spectators. According to their temperaments, they have either laughed at or spoken with contempt of the paradoxical ending of our war for the liberation of the downtrodden. Not one European have I heard express approval of our war in the Philippines.

Now, if this opinion prove as unanimous elsewhere on the Continent as I have found it in Rome, Florence, Lucerne, and Leipzig, does it not force upon us an analogy between the attitude of foreigners towards us in the Philippine matter and the attitude of the world towards France in the Dreyfus case? With unprejudiced and unanimous decision, the world outside France adjudges the "Merciers" guilty of an abominable crime. So, with equal justice and lack of prejudice, may not the world outside of America soon adjudge the "McKinleys"?

To those in America at least who fear "the verdict of the world" if we should stop our present immoral war, I should like to call attention to these signs abroad that that verdict will be adverse if we do not stop it.—Very truly yours,

P. W. M.

University of Leipzig, Germany, September 28, 1899.

ZOLA CHARACTERIZED BY THE GON-COURTS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The recent prominence of Zola in French affairs recalls the marvellously keen prophetic analysis of the Goncourts, more than thirty years since, as recorded in their diary on occasion of Zola's first visit, December 14, 1868:

"One striking impression is of the weakly, delicate, ultra-nervous side; you feel at times as if you were brought into contact with a melancholy victim of heart disease struggling against his cruel fate. In truth, a man of a restless, anxious, thoughful, complex nature. . . . In a spirit of bitter recrimination he kept from time to time repeating that he was only twenty-eight years of age, and the tone in which he said it indicated a bitter strength of will, and suppressed energy longing to make itself felt."

What better characterization could be made of Zola's whole career than that indicated by the phrase, "bitter strength of will"?

HIRAM M. STANLEY.

UNIVERSITY LIBRARY, LAKE FOREST, ILL., October 4, 1899,

THE NATIONAL INSTITUTE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Some time since, you published a letter from Mr. Higginson giving his reasons for refusing to join a newly formed "Institute," supposed to be affiliated with the "American Social Science Association," and refusing membership to women.

One result of Mr. Higginson's letter was that many inquiries were addressed to me as to the course which I, as an officer of the Association, was about to take. After some correspondence with members of the Council, I found two objections to the proposed "Institute": first, that it did not intend to include women; next, that it appropriated work belonging to two departments already in existence. I therefore resigned my position on the Board by letter.

Before my letter could be considered, the "Institute" withdrew from the Association and constituted itself an independent body, to whose action, of whatever sort, no association has any right to object. As the proceedings of the Council are never published, I am obliged to ask you to print this letter.—Yours very truly,

CAROLINE H. DALL.

1526 18TH STREET, WASHINGTON, D. C., October 4, 1899.

Notes.

Shortly to be issued by J. B. Lippincott Co. are 'Bohemian Paris of To-day,' by W. C. Morrow, with illustrations by Edouard Cucuel: 'Salons Colonial and Republican.' by Miss Anne H. Wharton; "The True William Penn.' by Sydney George Fisher: 'Myths and Legends of Our New Possessions,' by Charles M. Skinner: Dr. Furness's Variorum Edition of "Much Ado about Nothing"; 'Popular British Ballads, Ancient and Modern, chosen by R. Brimley Johnson; 'Homes and Haunts of the Pilgrim Fathers,' by Alexander Mackennel, D.D.; 'A Manual of Coaching,' by Fairman Rogers, illustrated; and 'The Life of Prince Otto von Bismarck,' by Frank Preston Stearns.

Dodd, Mead & Co.'s list includes the sixth volume of James Schouler's 'History of the United States Constitution,' dealing with the civil war; 'Imperial India,' by G. W. Steevens; 'Life and Letters of Dr. John Donne,' by Edmund Gosse; 'Romance of King Ludwig II., of Bavaria,' by Frances A. Gerard; 'Reminiscences of the Life of Edward P. Roe,' by his sister; 'Iconografia Dantesca,' by Ludwig Volkmann, fully illustrated; 'Old New York on Staffordshire Pottery,' by R. F. Halsey; 'Poems of Cabin and Field,' by Paul Laurence Dunbar: 'Ballads of Books,' by Prof. Brander Matthews; 'Gray Stone and Porphyry,' poems by Prof. Harry Thurston Peck, and, by the same author, 'What is Good English, and Other Essays'; 'New Letters of Hazlitt and Charles Lamb,' by W. Carew Hazlitt; Austin Dobson's 'Life of Goldsmith'; and 'A Looker-on in London,' by Mary H. Krout.

'Primitive Love and Love Stories,' by Henry T. Finck; 'The Highest Andes,' by Edward A. FitzGerald; and 'Peter Paul Rubens: His Life and his Work,' by Émile Michel, are to bear the imprint of Charles Scribner's Soas.

'Wild Eden,' a new volume of verse from Prof. George E. Woodberry, is to be issued by Macmillan Co., along with Marion Crawford's 'Via Crucis,' the second volume of Thomas E. Watson's 'Story of France,' the third of Prof. A. B. Hart's 'American History Told by Contemporaries,' 1783-1845, and 'An Outline of Political Growth in the 19th Century,' by Edmund H. Sears.

Henry Holt & Co. will publish immediately Prof. Macvane's translation of Seignobos's 'Political History of Europe, 1814-1896,' and 'Standard English Poems,' for the classroom, compiled by Henry S. Pancoast.

Harper & Bros. have nearly ready "The Tragedy of Dreyfus," G. W. Steevens's account of the court-martial at Rennes; "The New-Born Cuba," by Franklin Matthews; 'Hawaiian-America,' by Caspar Whitney; and the fourth volume of James Ford Rhodes's 'History of the United States,' to the second election of Lincoln.

E. P. Dutton & Co. announce a Memoir of Bishop John Selwyn, by F. D. How, and a Memoir of William F. Moulton, by W. Fiddian Moulton.

Mr. W. J. Stillman's Autobiography, which Houghton, Mifflin & Co. will undertake, will partly appear in the Atlantic Monthly.

The second series of the Hakluyt Society publications, of which the first two volumes have already been issued to subscribers for the current year, begins very appropriately with a work which first appeared in old Samuel Purchas's 'Hakluytus Posthumus.'

The Society has already, in its hundred volumes, accomplished all that its founders can have dared to hope for. There still remains, however, just as when Richard Hakluyt completed his great collection in 1599, much to be done, and the Council of the Society, following the example of Purchas, takes a fresh start towards its goal of making available the veritable "history of the world, in sea voyages & Lande travells, by Englishmen & others, all examined, Illustrated with notes, Enlarged with discourses, Adorned with pictures, and Expressed in Maps." Such was Purchas's design in 1625, and such is the ideal very admirably fulfilled by Mr. William Foster, the Secretary of the Society, in his edition of the Journals of England's first real Ambassador to the Court of the Great Mogul, Sir Thomas Roe. Equally valuable, and of somewhat greater interest to readers of American history, will be the third volume, promised for this year, which will contain the original account of the voyage of Sir Thomas Dudley to the West Indies and Guiana in 1594. Next year the Council proposes to publish a translation of the narratives of the journey to Tartary by John of Plano Carpini and William of Rubruk, prepared by the first American to appear in the list of Hakluyt Society editors, W. W. Rockhill, sometime United States Minister at Athens. New editions of Ralegh's 'Discovery of Guiana' and of Cortes's Letter describing his expedition to Honduras in 1525 are assured for early issue, and, with more than a dozen other works already in the hands of editors, the second of the Hakluyt Society series promises fully to maintain all the interest and the value of the first hundred volumes.

The thinness of the volume of 'Letters from Ralph Waldo Emerson to a Friend. 1838-1853,' edited by Prof. Norton (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.), would seem to have made the suggestion of an index inevitable. One would like to turn readily, for instance, to that gem of praise of Wendell Phillips in 1845 as "the best generator of eloquence" the poet had met for many a day. The same may be said of the summary judgments of noted Englishmen whom Emerson met at home in 1848; the pith of his subsequent 'English Traits,' as the editor remarks. These, and his first impressions of Philadelphia, are the most salient things in the collection, which has the stamp of style characteristic of the writer.

Two volumes on Robespierre, although neither is exactly new, deserve each a word of comment. The first is a neat reprint (Scribners) of G. H. Lewes's 'Life of Maximilien Robespierre,' a work about which, on the ground of its having been widely noticed in a former generation and since then well seasoned by time, we need not say much. The first edition appeared just fifty years ago, and every one knows what an abundance of information regarding the early French Revolution has in the meantime been disclosed. Nevertheless, Lewes, by dint of biographical skill, produced an estimate which will for a long time hold a place in the esteem of scholars. To those, like Lord Acton, for whom the question of morals is the decisive one in historical study, his examination of Robespierre's conduct and motives remains particularly valuable. We quote his final verdict because, according to our belief, it has not been much altered by the discoveries

of half a century: "He had qualities, it is true, which we must respect; he was honest, sincere, self-denying, and consistent. But he was cowardly, relentless, pedantic, unloving, intensely vain, and morbidly envious. Throughout his career I have met with no single generous action, with no example of warm feeling, with no expression which seemed to come from a high and noble heart. It is idle to set against this his honorable poverty, his political consistency, his sagacity, and his eloquence."

The second book to which reference has been made above is a translation, by J. Hedeman, of Prof. Ten Brink's monograph on the Thermidorian episode, 'Robespierre and the Red Terror' (Lippincott). Ten Brink goes considerably beyond Lewes in point of admiration for Robespierre's idealizing instincts, but cannot credit him with the possession of political aptitude. He was "a statesman without practical ability, an obstinate fanatic, destitute of genius." The volume is not confined to an estimate of Robespierre's personality and actions. It includes sixty-seven short chapters, which deal with many different kinds of subjects, some public, like the execution of the Hébertists and the Dantonists; some private, like the early life of Teresa Cabarrus, afterwards Madame Tallien; some social, like the food supply of Paris in 1794; and some ecclesiastical, like the fate of Christianity during the period of terror. In fine, it is such a survey of those sanguinary months as aims at giving a clear impression of the life then led by politicians, soldiers, priests, women, and the public. The style is in keeping with a rapid and elastic treatment; not only are the chapters very short, but the sentences are abrupt and the situations dramatic. Prof. Ten Brink's description of individual physiognomy and traits sometimes appears very singular, for instance in the case of Danton: "He gave the impression of some ferocious animal rather than a human being." Now the portrait by David does not bear out this statement, even if the half-caricature picture given in the book does. On the whole, we have found the story sound, and it is certainly entertaining. Unfortunately the translation is disfigured by a good many misprints, and the illustrations are by no means of the highest order.

The 'Financial History of Baltimore,' by Prof. J. H. Hollander (Johns Hopkins University), is a very full and painstaking compilation, showing from the origin the development of the finances of a large city. In some respects Baltimore differed from other cities, and in these differences will be found the most interesting features of Prof. Hollander's work. It was a seaport where not even a town existed, for the economy of Maryland did not tend to form settlements, any more than Virginia could create more than small county seats. How from this condition was evolved a town, and finally a city, with its manifold needs and activities, is a curious study, and the results do not show that much intelligence was expended in directing the growth. As the necessity arose, it was met experimentally, and some of these experiments did little to solve the difficulty of management. In the days of wells and pumps, unpaved streets, night bailiffs, and a volunteer fire corps, the number of officers was small, but their responsibilities were as great as later, when police, health, chari-

ties, markets, sewers, street-cleaning and lighting have each a department. Lotterles and voluntary assessments have yielded to regular taxes, special assessments, and large loans; while adventures in the Baltimore & Ohio Road have given a local color to the finances of the city. The volume must be studied to enable one to appreciate the labor expended, and well expended, upon it.

Under the title, 'The Crisis of the Revolution.' Mr. William Abbatt has retold the story of André and Arnold. A large quarto volume, handsomely printed, and containing many illustrations, it yet leaves much to be desired. The narrative begins with André's voyage up the river, all the previous events being compressed into a short note. When André is once on board of the Vulture, the fulness of detail becomes overwhelming; every bit of gossip and recollection being incorporated, with little regard to the value to be attached to it. There are, in addition, many notes and an extensive bibliography. Much revision would be needed to bring the narrative within the limits of historical truth, and the labor and energy of Mr. Abbatt in compiling the facts are often neutralized by the arrangement and mode of expression. Some valuable notes by Mr. Edward H. Hall should be excepted from this judgment. The illustrations are many of them of very high interest, and serve to perpetuate what is rapidly passing away. But the portraits are poor, and one-third of the number, better reproduced, would have made the book more desirable. The Frossard 'Trumbulls" are printed with genuine matter, and without so much as a hint as to their quality. Why did not Mr. Abbatt reproduce in facsimile the original documents of the André incident? They would be worth more than the scraps he has so industriously gathered.

Those who fancy that the experience of the United States in administering its Indian affairs has fitted it for the government of subject races, cannot do better than to read Charles H. Coe's 'Red Patriots; The Story of the Seminoles' (Cincinnati: Editor Publishing Company). It is to be regretted that the book could not have been given a more attractive dress; for, although the author's sympathies are avowedly with the Indians, his favorable bias has not prevented him from making a careful historical study of his subject, and adding appreciably to the available knowledge of an important episode in our history. So far as the United States is concerned, the story is the old and shameful one of ignorance, greed, and perfidy, with its familiar fruits of spoliation, broken promises, and costly war. The profits of the book are to be devoted to restoring the neglected grave of Osceola.

Mr. Marsh's 'Man and Nature' traced the effect of man's action upon the terrestrial equilibrium, physical and vital. In reverse, the 'Physical Geography' of Prof. William Morris Davis and William Henry Snyder (Ginn & Co.) incidentally notes the effect of natural conditions and changes upon man; and this feature gives their text-book a peculiar readability. If sometimes the introduction of such examples (occasionally extending beyond the human kingdom) appears a little forced, the matter is never trivial and is often curious. It stimulates reflection and observation, for instance, to be told that the stealing by the Savannah River of the upper waters of the Chattahoochee de-

termined the angle of the western boundary of South Carolina. The little book is compacted of similar observations, which, like the copious and altogether admirable illustrations, are remarkably fresh and unhackneyed. The earth as a whole, its atmospheric and its watery envelopes, are dismissed in ninety pages; it is in dealing with the land forms and vicissitudes that Prof. Davis handles his theme as an acknowledged master. Some of the doctrine, never dogmatically put forward-often hypothetically, as on the obscure subject of coral formations-is of course open to question, and awaits further knowledge. The exposition is, as a whole, remarkably clear, and is characterized by great breadth and no little originality of view. Every teacher of physical geography ought to make himself thoroughly acquainted with this book.

The latest addition to the college series of Greek authors (Boston: Ginn & Co.) is an edition of Euripides's 'Hippolytus,' by Prof. J. E. Harry of Georgetown College. It is not, like most of this series, based upon the work of some one German scholar, but the editor appears to have made good selection from the work of a number of scholars, such as Weil, Patin, Kalkmann, and notably Von Wilamowitz-Möllendorff, whom, however, he finds not always impeccable and whose latest translation of this play seems not to have been at hand. The edition need fear nothing from a comparison with the others in the same series. The notes gain in interest from the fact that parallel passages are drawn, not from Greek and Roman authors alone, but also, laudably, from English, French, and German

The new illustrated Automobile Magazine (New York: U. S. Industrial Publishing Co.) has a very attractive appearance, and is so varied in contents, without undue padding, that one wonders how the editor can fill his pages hereafter. Still, the list on page 101 shows that there is a considerable "foreign automobile press"; and what foreigners can do in the way of furnishing "copy" to the printer, Americans can. The society feature of the new vehicle is brought to the front with views from the Newport festival-the driver, by the way, not always sitting on the left. There are competent-seeming bookreviews, and some concessions are made to the general reader in comicalities of pencil and verse. The magazine seems free from

Ginn & Co. give notice that the Zoölogical Bulletin is to be replaced by the Biological Bulletin, edited by the Director and members of the staff of the Marine Biological Laboratory at Wood's Holl, Mass. As the change of name implies, the scope of its survey and collaboration will be broadened.

How rapidly women teachers, who were practically excluded from the public schools of Germany a generation ago, are securing places in these schools, appears from the recent 'Verzeichniss der Rektoren, Lehrer und Lehrerinnen an den Berliner Gemeindeschulen,' of which annual the fifty-seventh issue was lately published. Of the 229 public schools in the German metropolis, not a single one has as yet a woman "rector," or principal, but more than one-third of the teachers are now women, namely 1,385, while the male teachers number 2,418. In addition there are a good number of technical special teachers, the majority of whom are

4,000. During the past year 179 additional teachers were appointed, and of these 60

Mr. Louis N. Wilson, Librarian of Clark University, Worcester, has published a 'Bibliography of Child Study for the Year 1898,' with a subject-index. There are no fewer than 333 items. Many are annotated with appreciation.

-An article in the October Scribner's on "The Water-Front of New York," by Jesse Lynch Williams, abundantly illustrated, forms a noteworthy guide to our city's most striking characteristic. Like other good local literature, it will perhaps be read most eagerly by those who need it least. Our guide is, moreover, a philosopher-if not in the strictest sense friend-in dignifying the cliff dwellings which fringe the East River by interpreting them as the "white city of 1900." His derision of the class who, to be quite happy in seeing sights of Manhattan, must be reminded of things European, comes alarmingly near to being the indictment of a people. Mr. Elmendorf gives some beautiful specimens of "telephotography," or, roughly speaking, photography aided by telescopy. The use of the telephoto lens practically places the operator on a scaffolding in the air and close to the object, the camera recording what the telescope sees. Mrs. John Drew's autobiographic sketch introduces many interesting portraits of the actors of two generations ago.

-Harper's contains a paper, by G. W. Steevens of Khartum fame, on "France as Affected by the Dreyfus Case," which is written with energy and insight. Dewey receives a well-considered tribute in an article by Mr. John Barrett, who saw him frequently during the three months preceding the fall of Manila. Sir Martin Conway contributes a mountaineering paper of fascinating interest on his ascent of Illimani in the Cordillera Range. His most astonishing experience was finding upon the very summit an Indian woollen cord, confirmatory of a legend of ascent by a native who perished in his triumph. An episode, or, as Sir Martin calls it, a rare privilege, of the journey, was meeting Mr. Bandelier and his wife on a farm on one of the mountain ridges. Here Mr. Bandelier is making excavations in ancient villages and buryingplaces for the National Museum at Washington. The spectacle of these two devoting their lives to science, cut off from the world, "each the other's only friend," made a profound impression on even so experienced a traveller as the Englishman. He quotes his host as expressing admiration for the ancient Spanish laws dealing with the treatment of Indians. The story of the ascent of Sorata is to follow in the next number. "Seward's Proposition of April 1, 1861, for a Foreign War and a Dictatorship" is treated by Frederic Bancroft, as a prodrome to a forthcoming Life of Seward. The Secretary of State, in pursuance of his "theory of the unifying effect of a foreign war," suggested measures that had a disastrous echo in Cleveland's Venezuelan message. Happily, Lincoln was Lincoln.

-The leading article in the Atlantic is by President Eliot, on "Recent Changes in Secondary Education," a paper read before the American Institute of Instruction in July. He calls attention to the improved standards of comfort and health, to the reduction of

fading distinction between "culture studies" and "information studies," "for the reason that the object in view with candidates for both degrees is fundamentally the same, namely, training for power." The changed ideal underlying these other changes he points out to be the agreement of opinion, from the college side, and from the school graduate side, that trained capacity is what will fit for any career and what should count towards admission to col-In conclusion he contends that "the elective system, as a whole, whether in school or in college, does not tend to discursiveness, but to intensity in study." Mr. H. D. Sedgwick, jr., has a striking and Bellamystic article on the possible and probable occupation of America by the Roman Catholic Church as the achievement of the twentieth century. Prof. Benjamin Ide Wheeler writes, on "Language as Interpreter of Life," an article in which learning happily fulfils the mission of making delightful. Mr. J. N. Larned attacks our "historical habit of voting by wards and towns," and suggests voluntary associations of electors as antitoxin for the national poison of the organizing politician.

-In the Century's brief but well-packed study of John Morley by a member of Parliament, we have a speaking picture of the statesman and of his relation to present tendencies in England. Alexander's portrait of Morley is singularly in keeping with the text-forceful, meagre of line, but alive with character. Lieut. Eberle writes a graphic log of "The Oregon's Great Voyage," a little feature of which, it is entertaining to read, was meeting the sloop Spray, containing Capt. Joshua Slocum on his solitary voyage round the world. The Captain will tell us in a later number how the moon looked to the brook, and in this instalment pursues his amazing way from Pernambuco through the Straits of Magellan. Mr. Bigelow contributes recollections of Von Bunsen's recollections of various great personages; or, as one may say, memories in the second power of persons in the first. One of the salient paragraphs is on Von Moltke. Says Von Bunsen: "He has only one notion of a battle, and that is to capture, not to kill, the enemy." "He regarded the battle [of Königgrätz] not as a victory for him, but as a defeat," because of the useless slaughter.

-"The Social Side of the Reformation in Germany" (Macmillan) is a series of historical sketches in which Mr. E. Belfort Bax seeks to review that part of the movement which lies between the reign of Maximilian and the Anabaptist experiment at Munster. Having already published a volume entitled 'German Society at the Close of the Middle Age,' he advances his work by one stage in a study of 'The Peasants' War,' which we now notice. Mr. Bax's general views are perfectly well understood by all students of recent socialist literature, so that we need say little regarding his standpoint. Socialists seldom devote much attention to historical reading, because, having a gospel of hope, their eyes are fixed upon the future to the comparative neglect of the past. Occasionally they are allured by some theory, like that of the primitive mark system ("ce qui n'est pas du tout démontré," as a careful writer like M. Charles Seignobos says), which squares with their opinions of land women, and the total teaching force is about subjects in the study programmes, to the tenure; but in England, at least, Mr. Bax

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is one of the few socialist historians. Our first criticism of his 'Peasants' War' is, that it rises above the class of pamphlets in which historical illustration is used to help forward a modern propaganda. Now and then comparisons between the sixteenth century and our own times are accompanied by a touch of satire-for example, in the following case: "The German peasants of 1525, as did the Commune of Paris, and as is the wont of successful insurgents generally, signalized their success as a rule by their studied moderation and good nature, as contrasted with the ferocious cruelty of their enemies, the constituted authorities." Ordinarily, however, the narrative is confined to what actually happened in Swabia, Franconia, and Thuringia. Mr. Bax is bitter against Luther and Melanchthon, thinks that Münzer's part in the rising has been overestimated, and notes that the "common man" was, in the hour of triumph, demoralized by "drink, gluttony, and general laxness." He makes a sweeping acknowledgment to Zimmerbut he has also used the recent German authorities. As a compact survey of events, Mr. Bax's sketch claims the notice of those who are interested either in the Reformation or in popular revolts

-The "Versailles Historical Series" (Boston: Hardy, Pratt & Co.), consisting chiefly of translations of famous memoirs, receives an important and interesting addition in a judicious selection from the thirty-four volumes of the Prince de Ligne's works, edited by Miss K. P. Wormeley, with comment and historical explanation sufficient to render the narrative continuous and coherent. This method of procedure, though generally open to serious objections, has in this instance borne good results; for, while omitting much of a purely trivial nature, the present condensation offers a very life-like picture of the courtier, soldier, and princely country gentleman. One is not disposed to regret the absence of a 'Mixture, very Careless, of Several Styles of Poetry and Thoughts,' or of 'The Art of Travelling, Poem in 5 Cantos.' Such specimens of pensées détachées as are given in the appendix are indicative enough of the quality of the Prince's desultory meditations. Further, these volumes contain much attractive matter in the shape of letters received by the Prince de Ligne from sovereigns and other exalted personages of his time, and containing, besides more intimate concerns, details of diplomacy, campaigns, and other great historical events. The translation clings faithfully to the text, even at the risk of occasional lapses into avoidable Gallicisms. Thus we note: "Sorrow to the lukewarm!" (vol. 1., p. 67); "a quantity of ignorances" (i., 71); "I fear the gifts of miracle of Saint Paul" (i... 320); "a pretty good devil" (11., 306)-the last of these being a more than hazardous rendering of un assez bon diable. In some cases, also, literalness makes short work of point or wit, as, for instance (i., 271), where Mile. Sophie Arnould sarcastically remarks of a trickling artificial stream, "It is as like a river as two drops of water," the finesse of the French phrase, "ressembler comme deux gouttes d'eau" disappears altogether. But slips of this nature are not too numerous to interfere with our enjoyment of this presentation of a charming personality-a pleasure enhanced by the sumptuous form which the publishers have given to the two volumes

Life of Danton. By A. H. Beesly. Longmans, Green & Co. 1899.

Danton. A Study. By Hilaire Belloc. Charles Scribner's Sons. 1899.

Not one of the Revolutionary leaders has left a reputation which universal consent allows to be admirable. Mirabeau accepted a stipend from the royal civil list at a moment when he was outwardly attacking the court; Marat's sense of suspicion amounted almost to monomania; to Danton is ascribed responsibility for the September Massacres; with the name of Robespierre one must perforce associate the Great Terror. The inveterate gossip of the period also ascribes to these men other faults and failings in large number. It is not merely English prejudice surviving from '93 which assails the destroyers of the old régime. The most cynical of all critics, in his judgment of them, is the philosophical Taine, and from the attack which he delivered in the 'Origines' the politicians of the National Convention are still suffering. The rehabilitation which Thiers, Lamartine, Michelet, and Louis Blanc began, must now be resumed by the present admirers of the Revolution. Taine, of course, received many prompt and sharp answers, but the aftermath of vindication is considerable and extends itself over a wide area. Those who see in the Revolution nothing save a noble and philanthropic movement, will not cease to search for pure and disinterested patriots at its head.

Danton is, we think, beyond doubt the most promising candidate for apotheosis among all the leaders of the Jacobins and Cordeliers. He had force and spontaneity, qualities which, as Mounier and Malouet found to their cost, are required in revolutions. When action was called for, he could work with Carnot's application and with more than Carnot's dash. Unlike the prominent figures among Feuillants and Girondists, he is free from suspicion of being a doctrinaire, while, as opposed to Hébert, he showed no hatred of virtue. He would have brought the period of domestic carnage to an end at the moment when decisive victories in the field saved France from fear of further invasion. Last and greatest among his political merits was a soul which could react to the ideal impulse of the Revolution, together with a practical grasp of administrative principles. He saw that the Terror, however inevitable, was evil, and never schemed for its indefinite extension. If he can be acquitted of encouraging or conniving at popular excesses when they could still be controlled, he must take first rank among those who strove for the Republic between the 10th of August and Ther-

Hitherto no full biography of Danton has existed in English, but, as though to atone for this neglect, two studies of his life have recently appeared within a few weeks of each other. The coincidence would in any case be noticeable, but it is the more striking because both Mr. Beesly and Mr. Belloc are prompted by the same purpose. There is no resemblance whatever between the books in point of style, yet each defends its liero from first to last against all imputations, contemporary or modern, which have been brought forward to his discredit. Of the two, Mr. Belloc is emotional and impassioned, Mr. Beesly sym-

pathetic but calm. It is perhaps worth noticing that the latter has already published a volume of poems called 'Danton and Other Verse,' and therefore shows a wish to keep his rhapsody distinct from his prose. On the contrary, Mr. Belloc mixes the two elements, and is often guilty of putting a load upon prose which it with difficulty bears. Some of his phrases actually have a metric cadence, just as lines of Dickens have when the novelist draws near a bit of pathos. We quote a short passage in explanation of what we mean, although it is to the cumulative effect of such bits scattered through the text like plums in a Christmas pudding that we really refer:

"But there was no voice and no order. The terrible tramp of the Guard and the sound that Heine loved, the dance of the French drums, was extinguished; there was no echo of their songs, for the army was of ghosts and was defeated. They passed in the silence which we can never pierce, and somewhere remote from men they sleep in bivouac round the most splendid of human swords."

Mr. Belloc is frankly a disciple of the Revolution, or, unless we are mistaken, a disciple of the Revolution in its final reconciliation with the Roman Catholic Church. For instance, when speaking of the modern French peasant, transformed and exalted by the Revolution, he says: "He has re-created a host of songs, he has turned all France into a kind of walled garden; underneath the politicians, and in spite of them, he is working out the necessary thing which shall put flesh on the dry hones of the Revolution-I mean the reconciliation of the Republic and the Church." One does not frequently meet with an English author of this type, and perhaps Mr. Belloc's perfervid tone may have its root in an evangelical feeling. Some such explanation is required to account for the following sentence and others of equally dubious soundness which keep recurring: "Note what the pure rhetoric of Burke, proceeding solely from passion and untouched by any movement of reason, effected in England within a year of the fall of the Bastille." Certainly Sir James Mackintosh would not have ventured so sweeping a criticism of the 'Reflections.'

While Mr. Belloc justifies the Revolution, defines its scope and estimates its results, Mr. Beesly restricts himself to the narrower task of tracing Danton's personal career and relieving him from a mass of damaging charges. In the main he accepts Condorcet's opinion, which is an interesting one, and has the advantage of being expressed categorically:

"I have been reproached for voting for Danton being Minister of Justice. Here are my reasons: A man was necessary in the Ministry who possessed the confidence of the people which had just overturned the throne, and who could keep under control the extremely contemptible agents of a revolution in itself glorious, useful, and necessary. It was necessary, too, that this man should have eloquence, intelligence, and character which would not be unworthy of the members of the Assembly with whom he should come in contact. Danton was the only man possessing these qualifications. I chose him, and do not repent it."

Mr. Beesly and Mr. Belice are alike in owning a large obligation to the leading French champions of Danton, M. Bougeart and Dr. Robinet.

We pass over the events of Danton's youth, and also over his early connection

with the Cordeliers, for his great rôle begins at the Girondist declaration of war in the spring of 1792, and the preliminary success of the Allies. Indeed, it is upon his connection with the tragedies which mark the summer of 1792 that we shall chiefly dwell. His wonderful energy and his triumph cannot be questioned. The doubt relates to morals and not to outward results. How far will devotion to a political cause excuse connivance at violent measures?

Sir Henry Maine has rendered famous that part of Robespierre's speech at the fête of the Supreme Being in which the orator asks, "Has not the Republic been decreed from the beginning of time?" Mr. Belloc evidently shares Robespierre's sentiment, and it colors his estimate of Danton. In leading up to the overthrow of the monarchy, he cites the full text of Brunswick's proclamation, with the following preface: "This extraordinary monument of folly is rarely presented in its entirety. It is only in such a form that its full monstrosity can be appreciated, and I have therefore been at pains to translate for my readers the rather halting French in which Charles William proposed to arrest the movements of Providence." Now, when one holds that the First Republic was not simply a form of government, but that the "movements of Providence" prepared the way for it, he will justify its establishment and maintenance at whatever cost of life to its opponents. The bearing of such a view on the final judgment of Danton's part in the events of September, 1792, is manifest. Whether he manœuvred the prison massacres or not is hardly the point. He subsequently defended the deed, and felt at the time that popular clamor could not be withstood. For the sake of saving the Republic, he was willing that several hundred aristocrats should perish without intervention of law. "The People" in September meant an enraged mob bent on doing mischief to certain prisoners, regardless of discrimination between the innocent and the guilty. For two years the mood of violence had steadily been growing more intense among the Parisians, and the revolutionary leaders had encouraged its manifestations. Even allowing that Danton did not plan the atrocities which were caused by the news of the Austrian advance, he had encouraged the communal disturbances which culminated in them, and he must accept a large measure of responsibility. Because Paris had ground for apprehension, is no reason why she should have sunk into savagery.

Speaking in March, 1793, Danton said: "No human power was in condition to dam the tide of popular vengeance." But had it not been for the clubs and the club leaders, the hæmatomania which craved victims of every age and of both sexes would never have outburst control. If the First Republic were divinely decreed, any amount of incidental outrage may be thought excusable, but the Second of September was a heavy price to pay for the support of one's political opinions. Mr. Belloc mourns over the execution of "Danton helped to make us, and Danton. was killed; his effort has succeeded, but the tragedy remains." Danton helped shed much blood during the Revolution, and by playing an active part in the movement he ran his risks. We may admire his force and public spirit, but, all things considered, less pathos is associated with his fall than with the execution of Bailly or of Malesherbas.

From the charge of enriching himself through politics Danton is well defended by both his biographers. He came of the bourgeoisie, and the members of his family owned among them a fair amount of property. The office of Avocat aux Conseils du Rol, which he bought in 1787, cost 79,000 francs, and the 56,000 francs required for the first instalment of purchase money were advanced by his own and his wife's relatives. His income during tenure of this office amounted to about 25,000 francs, and when it was suppressed in 1791 he received 71,000 francs compensation. Altogether, he left an estate of 90,000 francs, a sum which exceeds his assets of seven years before by an inconsiderable amount. Mr. Belloc's conclusion is that, "unless he spent large sums in debauch (sums like those of Orléans), or unless he buried his money, he cannot have received much more than what openly appears." He omits among his alternatives Taine's theory that Danton invested funds at Choisy-sur-Seine under the assumed name of Fauvel. The matter, however, is satisfactorily cleared up by the identification of Fauvel with a resident at Choisy whom Danton sometimes visited. The principal witnesses against him on the score of venality are Mirabeau, Bertrand de Molleville, Lafayette, Brissot, and Mme. Roland, but none of their charges will bear strict examination. Danton had the advantage of inheriting a small independence, and it, eked out by the proceeds of his legal practice, supported him during the two or three years of his public life.

Mr. Beesly gives a lucid account of Danton's part in the overthrow of the monarchy, the crisis where his influence, and indeed his direct hand, are most apparent. Here we may single out one point which is particularly worth making, namely, the doubt which the organizers of the Tenth of August felt regarding the issue. Mr. Beesly says:

"Wa, unable to see as contemporaries saw the state of things in August, and remembering only which side won, are apt to think of him and his friends as advancing to the destruction of a feeble monarchy with a tiger's leap, terrible, irresistible, confident. The exact opposite would be nearer the truth. Danton went to Arcis as a man who knew he might be dead a week later. 'Si j'eusse été vaincu,' he said, when all was over, 'je serais criminel. La cause de la liberté a triomphé.' Barbaroux had poison in his pocket on the night of the 9th, in case of defeat. Fréron despaired of success."

Lucile Desmoulins's journal reflects the same mood in a more vivid—almost hysterical—way. The sections were the uncertain element. They had not yet been thoroughly tested, and might not respond to the tocsin. But we are unable to agree with Mr. Beesly's view that, after the Faubourg St. Antoine had responded, the rising was rendered successful only by the King's hesitation. The masses once roused, Mandat and his troops might cause much slaughter, but could not wage more than a desperate death struggle. The riot ended by dethroning Louis XVI., and creating Danton Minister of Justice.

Had we space for further comment, we should discuss Danton's relations with the Girondists in preference to his share in the regicide or to the circumstances of his own overthrow. The degree of antipathy which he aroused in Mme. Reland is sure proof of his personal power, and if, as is not impossible, his violent speech at the end of the King's trial decided Vergniaud's vote,

one of the strangest contradictions in the history of the Revolution is accounted for. But we must dismiss such topics and all others if we are to say a final word concerning the quality of these two biographies.

Mr. Belloc's essay is unmistakably a clever piece of composition in the broad style. It is always impulsive, often eloquent, and sometimes extreme. Its diction is spontaneous, and the whole work, so far from discovering any dearth of ideas, suffers somewhat from an unpruned luxuriance of generalization. It brings together in close combination the learning of the schools and a generous enthusiasm of youth, which warms to the aspirations of that "tender-eved, wandering, unfortunate Rousseau who died of persecution." A few years of practice in expressing less than he feels will make Mr. Belloc a vigorous historian, but if he contemplates the production of anything monumental he must guard against facility of utterance. Mr. Beesly, while less ambitious in scope than Mr. Belloc, and less pronounced in his enthusiasm for the democratical yearnings of France, writes energetically and from conviction. He might say, in Danton's own words: "Ce n'est qu'à ceux qui ont reçu quelques talents politiques que je m'adresse, et non à hommes stupides qui ne savent faire parler que leurs passions." books demand careful attention, and will, one may hope, be succeeded by other sketches of the French Revolutionary leaders which will bear the same marks of modern scholarship and serious prevision.

With Sampson through the War. By W. A. M. Goode. Doubleday & McClure Co. 1899.

This book, which is among the best of the many published since the close of the late war, embraces the experience of a correspondent of the Associated Press on board of the flagship New York during the war. It is practically a narrative of that part of the war which took place in the West Indies under the direction of Rear-Admiral Sampson as commander-in-chief. In addition, there are some chapters devoted to matters which preceded and led up to the war, and also to the long-range attack upon the entrance to Santiago harbor by Schley, and the affair at Cardenas which caused the disabling of the torpedo-boat Winslow and the death of Bagley.

The blowing up of the Maine accentuated the Cuban situation to such an extent that the avoidance of hostilities became a matter of some difficulty. When this affair occurred, the navy of the United States was practically mobilized, and the vessels that were placed in commission afterwards, though useful in many ways, played but a secondary part, with the exception of the New Orleans and the Gloucester. The fight at Manila was made by the vessels composing the peace-time Asiatic squadron, and the destruction of Cervera's squadron was accomplished by vessels. with the exception of the Gloucester, that were in commission long before the outbreak of the war. These facts, so different from those pertaining to the army, emphasize the value of peace-time preparation and readiness for war and mobilization.

The deficiencies existing, and which still exist, in our naval stations in the Gulf of Mexico were seriously evident when the war became finminent. In name, these stations consisted of New Orleans, Pensacola, and

Key West, with a scheme then in the air for the development of the Dry Tortugas as a coaling station. All of these places were deficient in resources of all kinds, including facilities for ready coaling, and the most exposed of all (Key West) was made the principal advanced base from the advantages of its geographical position, despite the weakness of its defences, its insular position and scanty resources. This was not the first time that the necessities of the case required the use of Key West as an advanced base and coaling station, nor will it be the last. The place is, however, entirely unsuitable to the purposes of the dock-yard and repair station which will naturally be developed at New Orleans for the Gulf. The Dry Tortugas has only the hydrographic advantages of a coaling station, and was promptly abandoned by the fleet when war became probable.

The ill health of Admiral Sicard, and the exigencies arising from the critical situation. placed upon the Navy Department the necessity of relieving Admiral Sicard from command and appointing a successor. The North Atlantic fleet is and always should be our most important naval force, being the active defence of our richest seaboard, and the fleet which can most readily reach the Caribbean Sea, so aptly called by Mahan our Mediterranean, as well as the waters of Europe or the East coast of South America. This fleet, in the war about to arise, was at the time confronting Havana and the north coast of Cuba, where the principal operations were likely to occur. The senior officer of the fleet, upon Admiral Sicard's detachment, was Capt. Sampson, then commanding the Iowa-a man who had with justice been considered the intellectual head of the profession. As a counsellor at the Navy Department, Secretary Long had found him possessed of rare judgment and conspicuous ability, and enjoying the confidence of the service. No wonder, then, that the Secretary, having the responsibility of the war upon his shoulders and the legal right to choose whom he might, cast aside the mere claims of seniority and self-seeking through political influence and appointed the man whom he most trusted. Self-seeking is no characteristic of Sampson, and the announcement of his appointment came to him as a surprise, and elicited an expression of regret for the feelings of his seniors to whose exclusion he had been chosen. The loyal support of his captains was given to him from the first. He who was a profound student and a safe counsellor, became in turn an able leader, and the nation, as time passes on, will come to recognize the soundness of the judgment which placed him in command, as well as the greatness of the work performed by the fleet under his direction. Manila shone more, perhaps, in personal leadership, and was more spectacular as the first great exhibition of the naval power of the United States in the Orient; but Santiago was so carefully planned beforehand that the enemy's defeat was inevitable without the necessity of personal presence or leadership.

The readiness of the navy to begin operations at the outbreak of the war, and the delays in the mobilization and preparation of the army, led to many propositions for immediate attacks upon Cuban and Spanish forts by the fleet alone. The mixed experience of the civil war led many officers and civilians alike to confuse the successful rununobstructed channels with a successful attack upon permanent fortifications guarding mined channels. The passage of the forts at New Orleans was remembered rather than the repulse at Charleston. Hence the proposition for the attack upon Havana, which was wisely not sanctioned by the Navy Department. Too much was involved in the loss of a battle-ship, not only in the prosecution of the war at hand, but as an element in our relations with European Pow-The earliest task of the navy, then, was that of a blockade. A complete blockade of the island of Cuba involves a blockade of more than two hundred ports, anchorages, and landings, and hence is a most difficult affair. To make such a blockade effective would have required more vessels than the navy at any one time possessed, if other more vital and aggressive operations were to be carried on. Fortunately for us, however, the railway system of Cuba was incomplete, and the blockade of ports not connected by rail with Havana was not considered essential. Still more fortunate was it for our land operations also in Cuba that Santiago was not connected by railway with Havana, or that Cervera did not seek refuge in Cienfuegos or Havana itself.

As it happened, the comparatively short duration of the war and the conditions existing in Cuba were such that the minimum of positive results was obtained from this blockade, and none of the towns, as the author truly remarks, were pinched for the want of food or for other necessaries of life. The inefficiency of the monitors as seagoing ships for battle and for sea-passages was shown at an early date, and their insufficient coal endurance, slow speed, and poor gun platform in a seaway made them a drag upon the fleet from the outset. It was fortunately at a very early day that the demerits of the monitors in comparison with the battle-ships was shown, so that when the critical times arrived, there were no encumbrances of the kind with Sampson. The scouting carried on in connection with the approach of Cervera was, to say the least, crude and elementary, and was complicated by the fact that these scouting vessels were directed from Washington instead of by the commander-in-chief in the West Indies. This mistake was afterwards rectified, and happily the unenterprising enemy did not sever the cables leading to the United States, which would have made the prevailing over-centralization of the war more keenly felt.

The narrative in the book before us gives upon the whole a fair description of events preceding and following the destruction of Cervera's squadron. The unhappy wording of the dispatch announcing the victory caused a prejudice against the commander-in-chief which time is slowly dissipating. To this prejudice was added a feeling caused by the inconsistent action of the Navy Department with respect to Admiral Schley, and the want of a treatment of the matter from a high plane by the principal naval advisers of the Secretary. It is not yet time to enter fully into all the matters connected with this controversy, and it is sufficient to say here that, though mistakes were made upon all sides in dealing with it, the fact remains that the plan of investment of the entrance to Santiago harbor finally put ning past batteries and forts by means of in force by Admiral Sampson made the

escape of Cervera impossible; and whether the guns of the ship carrying the commander-in-chief reached the enemy or not was of little consequence, so long as the other ships placed by his orders and announced plans were there to accomplish the work so plainly before them. The naval campaign under the direction of Sampson, by the destruction of the best and most efficient naval force of the Spanjards-in fact, all of what was left of naval efficiency to Spain-caused the loss of Spain's sea power in the Atlantic and Caribbean Sea, and was the controlling cause of peace and the surrender of the possessions of Spain in the West Indies.

Mr. Goode's volume is fairly well illustrated, and has a sufficient number of maps and plans. Confusion is shown in the presentation of the portrait of Rear-Admiral John C. Howell for the younger admiral of the same name.

A History of New England Theology. By George Nye Boardman, Professor Emeritus of Systematic Theology in Chicago Theological Seminary. New York: A. D. F. Randolph Co. 1899.

The subject of this book is not one of the most delightful possible, and its writer has done little by the handling of his matter to invest it with an attraction which is not its own. The general theology of New England is not intended by the title, but the New England Theology, so called, which was developed, speaking roughly, in the course of a century extending from 1730 to 1830. Its greatest names were Edwards, father and son, Hopkins, Emmons, Bellamy, Dwight, and Taylor. Finney of Oberlin and Bushnell of Hartford, Conn., introduced varieties that constituted a new species. The movement was essentially a conservative reaction from the "Moderate Calvinism," sometimes called "Old Calvinism," which Jonathan Edwards found in possession of the field; and, in general, it was simply a logical carrying out of the principles of a "consistent Calvinism," rather than an attempt to construct a rationally and Scripturally coherent system of theology. According as the start was made from one set of propositions or another, the result was more or less inhuman or irrational. The whole story furnishes an important argument against the validity of Dr. Channing's "one sublime idea," the dignity of human nature, which is utterly at odds with such hairsplitting of theological subtleties as. made up the whole body of thought. Those who have read Prof. A. V. G. Allen's 'Jonathan Edwards' will best appreciate the defects of Prof. Boardman's performance, but then Prof. Allen's 'Jonathan Edwards' is one of the best theological biographies ever written. Prof. Williston Walker's 'History of Congregationalism' also makes these dry bones live. Yet, but for a single reference to Prof. Allen's book in a concluding paragraph, we should not have imagined that Prof. Boardman had any acquaintance with either of these books. A preference for the unsullied fountain-heads may explain what seems strange at first thought.

Such succulent questions as the following were discussed by these grave and reverend seigniors: Whether it be the duty of all men to whom the Gospel is published to repent and believe in Christ; whether a man totally deprayed is any worse for doing particular

wrong things or for trying to avail himself of any helps to righteousness. Hopkins answered the latter question in the affirmative; Finney the former in the negative. "Deeds prompted by pity, generosity, or gratitude," argued Hopkins, are of no account. The "love of being in general," Jonathan Edwards's formula, is the only motive that is really moral. Yet Prof. Boardman asserts that the most extensive and effective movements of religion followed the discussion of these subtleties. It must, it would seem, have been in spite of the discussion and not because of it.

As we near the end of the book, we have a few pages on "the later theology," and the inquiry, "Is it Edwardeanism?" The answer, we are pleased to say, is a decided negative. The "later theology" is characterized in the frankest manner.

"The new theology accepts the results of the higher criticism of the Bible, but makes little use of them. It rejects the traditional view of the Scriptures on other grounds, while it accepts portions of them as of highest value. It sees that the Bible teaches election, reprobation, vindicatory punishment, and is, so far, unchristian and to be rejected, but it sees also, that in many places it speaks the mind of Christ, and is so far to be accepted. . . The doctrine of reprobation is blasphemous, the doctrine of conditional immortality is charging God with weakness and failure, salvation of a part is charging God with monstrous immorality and is what no honorable man would accept. Salvation by the suffering of another is absurd; it must be by the agony and bloody sweat of the one who needs salvation. . . . The new theology knows nothing of grace in the orthodox sense of the word, it knows nothing of the pardon of sin, remission of penalty, justification through the righteousness of another; its salvation is improvement through discipline. In spirit and doctrine this scheme is totally at war with Edwardeanism."

Clearly this is not a friendly criticism. The statement is meant to be a condemnation. But, as compared with the endeavor in some quarters to pass off the later theology as "The New Puritanism," this frankness on the part of Prof. Boardman is deserving of the warmest commendation. "The later theology" is certainly new, but it is not Puritan.

Les Anglais aux Indes et en Egypte. Par Eugène Aubin. Paris: A. Colin & Cie. 1899. Pp. x, 290, 16mo.

The colonial possessions of France are of great extent and prospective importance. They have proved, however, up to the present time, a source of weakness, not of strength. Instead of contributing to the nation's wealth, they have been a drain upon her resources. Commerce and industry have not sprung up in Asia and Africa with the coming of the tricolor. The official and the missionary, not the colonist and the planter, alone have followed the lead of generals and explorers. The reason of their failure Frenchmen do not seem able to recognize, and M. Aubin's loyal aim in the book cited above, which is a reproduction of letters to the Journal des Débats, is to show his countrymen how the English rule subject races, in the modest hope that "they will imitate and possibly equal them." His account of their methods in India is introduced by a description of the manner in which the Government fought the famine and the plague in 1897, of which he was an eye-witness. Then he briefly sketches the relations of the people to the soil, the landlord, and the moneylender; emphasizes the indifference of the Government to all questions arising from differences of race and religion, concerning itself only with the collection of taxes and the administration of justice. A summary of the history of the English occupation, and a reference to the dangers which threaten its permanency, are followed by a short account of the foreign policy of the Government in relation to Russia and Afghanistan.

This serves as an introduction to our author's main theme, the English in Egypt. of which he writes clearly and intelligently, having long been a resident in Cairo. He explains how they have availed themselves of their Indian experience in the somewhat similar conditions of the valley of the Nile. In some detail he tells of the steps by which they have "absorbed," to use his favorite word, the country, first laying hands upon the army, the customs, and the sanitary department, then upon the finances, public works, police, and finally the judiciary. A lucid account is given of the international complications resulting from the deposition of Ismail, of the mixed tribunals, the service of the debt, and the part which France has taken in defending the rights of Turkey and the European Powers against the encroachments of Great Britain.

Of course every topic cannot be touched upon in a book of this size, and we do not find fault with the author because he has failed to point out the increase of the country's wealth through scientific irrigation, the rescue of the fellah from the enslaving and crushing power of the Pashas, and his continually improving material condition. There is a rare but generous acknowledgment of a few reforms due to the English, and hearty praise for the admirable manner in which the Sudan campaign was planned and carried out. But we do seriously regret-on M. Aubin's own account and that of his countrymen whom he is endeavoring to enlighten-his apparent inability to credit the English with any disinterested service, with any the smallest desire to rule in the interests of the governed. In his judgment they are actuated in all that they do simply by greed of power. The secret of their success is to be found in their obedience to the maxim, Divide et impera. This is stated again and again, in so many words, as the policy of the Government. In India, for instance, "Anglo-Indian agents are continually employed in fomenting divisions and hatreds among the natives" (p. 74). "The crowning work" of the military education of the fellah is the cherishing his race hatred of his companion-in-arms, the Sudanese, "so that the two halves of the Egyptian army regard each other comme des chiens de faience, to the very great satisfaction of their English officers" (p. 208). Or again:

"There is certainly no nation in the world more skilful than the English in isolating, dividing, enervating, frightening its opponent, and arousing in him dangerous impulses. Their skill is the more formidable, as they are more malignant and supple, under the guise of absolute firmness and perfect rectitude. We could not describe the variety of the resources which they have employed, especially to provoke in the valley of the Nile, between the different communities and the varied interests, the same conflicts which have been so favorable to the British rule in India. Christians and Mohammedans, Arab cultivators and Greek usurers, fellahs and great proprietors, Turks and Arabs, Arabs and Sudanese, without speaking of the Europeans of different nationalities, were incessantly urged to hurl themselves one against the other." (P. 244.)

This is the policy, evolved out of M. Au-

bin's jealous hatred of the English for their success where his own countrymen have failed, which he invites France to imitate in her possessions in Asia and Africa.

Genealogy of the Family of Sambourne or Sanborn in England and America, 1194-1898. By V. C. Sanborn of La Grange, Illinois, U. S. A. Privately printed for the Author (at the Rumford Press, Concord, N. H.). 1899. Large 8vo, pp. 692.

This is one of those stupendous volumes, peculiar to this country, which are without a parallel elsewhere. The book is beautifully printed, and represents a large expenditure of money as well as of time and labor in collecting statistics. It is invaluable to members of the Sanborn family, but its public interest is very slight. The index fails to reveal any great personage in any department. A glance at the latest contemporary biographic volume, 'Who's Who in America,' shows us only eight of the name -one brevet major-general of volunteers, one circuit judge, and six authors. On the other hand, we find the record of many prosperous farmers, lawyers, merchants, and other useful members of the community, showing the Sanborns to be a race worthy of recognition and of persistent vitality.

The record shows that this genealogy is not a spasmodic effort, but is the result of the labor of many hands. In 1853 a Sanborn Genealogical Association was formed, and work was begun by Dr. Nathan Sanborn. He died in 1858, and Dyer H. Sanborn took up the task. After the death of the latter in 1871, the present editor, Victor Channing Sanborn (born in Concord, N. H.) succeeded to the accumulations of his predecessors. We have already praised the good American work of our author, but the part of his labors which he seems most highly to prize, the record of English Sambournes, seems to us to be most unsatisfactory. No doubt there was and is a family, perhaps more than one, of English gentry named Sambourne. The line settled at Timsbury in Somersetshire dates back to the last half of the sixteenth century, and remains in possession of the ancestral estates. But this is by no means an exceptional case in England, nor do any of these Sambournes seem to have brought the name into prominence. Our author candidly writes (preface, p. xii): "In spite of a protracted search, since pursued by friendly genealogists abroad, I have been unable to find the connecting link between the two continents." In view of this statement it is to be regretted that the English Sambourne coat-of-arms was printed as a frontispiece. Of course no American Sanborn would assume it now. The references on pp. 72 and 73 to American coats are simply absurd and trivial. We all know these forgeries of the last century.

The real pedigree of the Sanborns begins with the immigrants hither, viz., John, William and Stephen Samborne of Hampton, N. H., in 1653, all brothers and mentioned by their grandfather, Rev. Stephen Bachiler, in 1647. Our author strives to clean up the record of the reverend firebrand of Hampton, but (we, even as a descendant, must confess) with very slight success. The one possible clue for the origin of the American Sanborns lies in the fact that Rev. Stephen Bachiler (born in 1560, at Oxford, 1581, B.A. 1586, vicar of Wherwell or Horrell, Co. Hants, 1587 to 1605), had for a neighbor Rev. James Sam-

bourne, rector of Groteley and Upper Clatford; "but it is a far cry to Lochow.

One last reflection we must make, as this book affords some material. The great facilities of photo-engraving bring into these grand family histories countless portraits of persons of the same blood, and yet how diverse are the faces! We cannot recall a family likeness in any genealogy. The Burgundian lip is notorious in the annals of royal families; the Stuart brow and eye are perpetuated in many lines even if they be the sad heritage of Rizzio; the peerage of Scotland and England has many examples of lords who might be the peers of two centuries ago. But in our middle-class families we seem to originate no family types. The long head of the Winthrops is one exception, the peculiar eyes of the Quincys are another, the beauty of the Mathers is hereditary; but why is there no family type in these offsprings of a common ancestor? Surely this is a question underlying the whole principle of genealogy. If features which can be seen are not transmissible. how can we suppose moral qualities to be; but if they are not transmitted, why brag of one's ancestors?

The growth of American genealogies recently has been immense, and we can conscientiously place the Sanborn book in the front rank.

Sketches and Studies in South Africa. By W. J. Knox Little. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co. 1899.

South Africa is the centre of attention at present, and whoever can speak of it intelligently may command an audience. So far as descriptions of the country go, Canon Little's book is to be praised. He knows how to travel and to report what he observes, and a very good idea of the aspects of the Cape Colony and other English possessions and their peculiarities of scenery and climate may be obtained from his pages. We must say, however, that the impressions of this traveller are more favorable than those of most others. He had such a pleasant visit as to make his testimony a little untrustworthy. He was entertained by Mr. Cecil Rhodes, who appears to have arranged his itinerary, and who completely captivated him. Hence we must take his book as giving the views of the Rhodesian faction rather than those of an impartial observer. It is in every respect inferior to Mr. Bryce's book on the same subject, a book to which the attention of the public should be redirected.

Canon Little's notes of travel, however, while the best feature of his book, form but a small part of it. What he calls the history of the South African colonies, but which is really a furious Jingo appeal, fills two-thirds of the volume. There is, of course, a certain amount of undisputed fact set forth; but the author's prejudices are so strong and his feeling so intense as to color nearly all his statements. He is bitterly hostile to the Dutch, and has nothing but contempt for so much of the colonial policy of the past as was not directed to the extension of British sovereignty. The only fault he finds with Dr. Jameson's raid is its failure. The Boers were the real criminals, and the trial of the British "filibusters" was a disgrace to England. The raid was really "a noble blow

reform of abuses," and a "noble effort for liberty." These propositions indicate the value of Canon Little's contribution to his-

Logic and Argument. By James H. Hyslop. Charles Scribner's Sons. 1899.

Prof. Hyslop has had an admirable idea in proposing to bind up with an elementary book on logic some chapters of directions for the practical application of logic in the writing of argumentative themes. One reason why logic, as it is presented to the student, is a peculiarly distasteful subject, is that it has seemed necessary to the makers of books to hand down as matter of illustration a lot of logical tricks and quirks which, no doubt, seemed very amusing to the schoolmen, but which cannot but be flat and unprofitable to the student of today. This gives the subject an air of triviality and of unreality which is by no means its necessary quality. To ask a person of such mature years as the college student to explain the ground for the nonconvincingness of such a syllogism as this seven and nine are odd numbers, sixteen is seven and nine, therefore sixteen is an odd number-is to descend below the level of the joke column of the daily newspaper. A book, therefore, which should exhibit real logic in its actual working would be a book of distinct value. The book before us is rather better than many in this respect, but it still leaves very much to be desired. The part which belongs to rhetoric, for which the preface raises expectation, turns out to be bald and empty to a degree. Instead of directions for writing themes, where the real work consists in the search for arguments, a better means for exhibiting to the student the reality of logical principles would probably be the analysis of trains of reasoning which have already been worked out by others.

Perhaps the very worst of the various untoward accidents that have happened in the progress of science is the putting up of two such names as induction and deduction for the logical processes which they represent. The processes have not in the least degree the correspondence in their nature which seems to be shadowed forth in the etymological correspondence between their names, and the effort to force them into such correspondence has resulted in a large amount of worse than wasted ink and paper. But it is safe to say that this mistaken analogy has never before given rise to so distinct a bévue as this: "Sometimes induction is said to be reasoning from the known to the unknown. This would be making deduction. by contrast, reasoning from the unknown to the known, which is absurd." The absurdity consists in thinking that "contrast" has any bearing whatever upon the nature of deduction. It is the nature of the thing which decides the character of the category, and not the reverse. But even if "contrast" were regulative in this case, it would not produce the above-described effect. Of the four classes which are possible-from the known to the unknown, from the known to the known from the unknown to the known. and from the unknown to the unknown-it is not possible to fill more than two if there are only two sorts of reasoning, and it is perfectly easy to suppose that we may be living in a world in which it is the last two

gories. If induction were called by its fitting name, probable reasoning, formal errors of this sort would be less tempting than they are now.

The whole treatment of induction in this book is very little illuminating. We are told on one page that we may reason by induction, and on another that we must not reason post hoc ergo propter hoc; but there is no successful effort to make us discover the difference between the two. There are, it is said. "certain conditions which regulate the legitimacy of this procedure, just as there are conditions determining deduction. They are [sic] that the conclusion shall represent the same general kind as the premises, with a possibility of accidental differences." It is to be feared that the student will be hard to find to whom such a rule as this will be of any assistance whatever. There are some marks in this book of a fresh working over of some of the dryest bones of logic, but the ideal book of introduction to the subject remains to be written.

The proof-reader has been very negligent in his task of seeing to it that sentences be constructed straight. We read: "If it is to be proved, its identity or inclusion in some other proposition must be seen." "The process assumes the distribution of the predicate when this is not the case" (meaning when the predicate is not distributed). "Rhetoric may also be considered as either or both a science and an art." 'In usual discourse, however, it is the movement of the mind from one proposition to another in which the act discovers and asserts, and agreement or disagreement between relations noticed in judgments."

Social Phases of Education. By S. T. Dutton, Superintendent of Schools, Brookline, Mass. The Macmillan Co.

Edward Everett Hale, in his 'Friends of J. R. Lowell,' comments on the tendency of the teacher to shut himself up in his own cocoon, and forget his relations to the real world which his pupils must enter and for which he ought to prepare them. Mr. Dutton's volume aims to correct any such tendency. Several of the ten essays which compose it were delivered as lectures in Cambridge, Boston, or Chicago. Among the titles are: "Social Aspects of the Home and School," "The Modern School and What it Aims to Do," "The School and the Child," "Relation of Education to Vocation," "Education as a Cure for Crime."

It is, indeed, a broad field which Mr. Dutton would have the public school occupy. It must provide effective training for body, mind, and heart. By developing character it is to cure crime. Good order is to be maintained less by a discipline imposed from without than by a self-governing impulse developed in the pupils. Sympathy and mutual service are to be exalted as motives, while little use is made of emulation and competition. The scale of expenditure during recent years, in many of our most progressive cities, for new school buildings furnished with the special equipment required for manual training and domestic science, can be maintained only by impressing the public with the value and necessity of the work of the school. Just here, in fact, lies a most important part of the superintendent's labors, and for this struck for freedom," "a sincere effort for classes which are nothing but empty cate- office Mr. Dutton has shown great capacity. Probably no agency for this end could be more effective than the Brookline Education Society, whose organization and work are the subject of the last essay.

The style of Mr. Dutton's essays leaves something to be desired. There is often a lack of clearness in thought and of exactness in expression, and there are other faults which a careful revision might have

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

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